

SPANISH ARABIC DIALECTS, DIALECT OVERLAP
AND CREOLIZATION FROM 711 to 1614 AD
A MORPHO-SYNTACTIC STUDY

by

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TEXT OF ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to follow, at the level of syntax, the complete process, from the onset to the close, of a contact situation that existed in the Iberian Peninsula between the dialects of two language families, the Latin-based or Romance and the Semitic, illustrated primarily by Arabic.

Part I contains the socio-historical background in which attitudes to prestige and colloquial varieties have been investigated and the population of speakers quantified.

Measurement is discussed in Part II. A framework had to be found to cope with variation in its several aspects: change, evolution, borrowing, convergence and divergence; all of which inform the various Spanish Arabic dialects, Mozarabic, Aljamía, Judesmo, Ladino and Iberian Romance. This new approach made it possible to bring together these varieties which up to now had been treated separately.

Part III deals with the study of Arabic texts. A number of dated texts have been collected from different regions of Spain to assess parallel change or divergence in documents of a similar nature for a given period.

Part IV considers the impact of Arabic on Latin-based dialects in a number of texts over the same period. A translation follows each.

The study provides a detailed analysis of the demise of the Arabic language in Spain. Since the emphasis is on spoken varieties, the analysis has a contribution to make to the better understanding of several regional dialects of this language in the Peninsula. This is illustrated by 24 tables. Finally, simplification as a linguistic concept has been further specified and an order of exit for patterns established.

Supplementary material will be found in the appendices where the remaining deeds from the Arabic collection of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Zaragoza, are translated and considered for their legal jargon, together with the Lord's Prayer in several dialects, and an article submitted as a contribution to the subject of this study.

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I am also very grateful for the assistance and cooperation given to me by the Chapter and the Librarian of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Zaragoza; Prof. M. Bergé of the Université de Bordeaux; the librarians of the Real Academia de la Historia; Dr. T. Bozman of the Universidad de Zaragoza and Mrs. L. Car-uana for access to Isidro de las Cagigas's private papers.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. B. Ingham, for his encouragement and endless patience throughout, and finally Mrs. Charlotte Coudrille, whose help in the final stages of the presentation was invaluable.

1 Exchange Grant (1979-80) Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores.

GLOSSARY

^CAgamī: Non-Arabic variety.

Al-Andalus: Moslem Spain, as opposed to the rest of the Iberian Peninsula under Christian rule.

Aljama: Moslem or Jewish community with official status (Charters).

Aljamía: The term is used here to describe the varieties of Romance used in Moorish communities in the Peninsula.

Assimilation: A general term referring to a movement towards sameness and eventual absorption.

Calque: An expansion originating from the literal translation of a group of lexical items borrowed from another language.

Creole: Contact language, resulting from the coming together of two or more non-mutually intelligible linguistic communities.

Dialect: The variety of language that is spoken or written by a linguistic community that is different in some degree - other things being equal - from the variety of another linguistic community, given that both varieties belong to the same language, e.g. Glasgow English and Devon English are dialects of English.

Family of languages: Two or more languages are said to belong to the same family if they share more features in common than can be explained by random coincidence or geographic proximity. It is more often the case than not, that they also share past history and culture. Welsh, Gaelic and Breton have more in common with each other than with neighbouring languages such as English or French.

Judeo-Arabic: Non-Classical Medieval Arabic spoken and written by Jews.

Judeo-Spanish: Non-standard Castilian spoken and written by Jews from Spain. Originally there were two varieties: Ladino, the formal variety used for biblical scholarship, and Judesmo, the colloquial variety.

Language: The set of dialects, whether regional or social, spoken or written, grouping all registers and styles used by a linguistic community and sufficiently different in its characteristics from those of another language of the same family. Spanish and Italian are instances of two different languages.

Lingua franca: Common language or variety used for exchange between communities of different linguistic background, cf. koiné (common standard).

Loan: Lexical item borrowed from another language.

Maghribi dialects: Arabic dialects spoken in North Africa of which the Moroccan are an example.

Moorish: Spanish Moslem. The Moors were the inhabitants of the Western part of the Islamic world with a common culture. When they settled in Spain, they mixed with the local population who adopted their culture and became Moorish.

Mozarabes: Christian communities living in Moslem Spain.

Mudejares: Moslem subjects of a Christian lord.

Overlap: The presence of features of a similar nature in two or more varieties.

Pidgin: A mixed code or language form of a restricted structure and vocabulary.

Register: Code or oral speech form determined by social circumstances, i.e. public speech, debate, argument etc.

Romance: Latin-based variety as opposed to an Arabic variety.

Style: Code or written speech form determined by social circumstances and corresponding to register defined above.

Vernacular: Non-literary variety.

Vulgar Arabic: Non-Classical, non-standard Arabic.

TRANSCRIPTION

There is no single universally agreed upon method of transcription or transliteration of Arabic into the Roman alphabet and the various systems there are are biased towards the native language of the user. It is a considerable drawback in this field of studies. Assessing findings means learning each time a new system with increased possibilities of error. Neither is the sole use of Arabic script the answer as some would have it; more often than not it appears unvowelled and without diacritics and therefore is open to various readings. Even when these are present, there are widely differing views as to their phonetic realization, cf. 7.2.2.

A few examples will illustrate the point:

- ج is represented as j, ġ; we have chosen ġ as unambiguous.
 خ is represented as kh, ħ, x; we have chosen k for the same reason.

In all cases digraphs have been avoided:

ش rendered as sh can be misread as s+h (س هـ).

Using the International Phonetic Association alphabet (IPA) as a basis, we have transliterated the texts in Arabic script according to the following symbolic system:

	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش
	b	t	ṭ	ǧ	ħ	<u>k</u>	d	ḏ	r	z	s	š
IPA	b	t	θ	ʒ	ħ	x	d	ð	r	z	s	ʃ

	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	هـ	و	ي
	s	ḍ	ṭ	ẓ	ʿ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w	y
IPA	ʃ	ð	t	z	ʔ	f	q	k	l	m	n	h	w	y

vowels: أ (ʾ) symbolize hamzated vowels.
 َ as in 'abū will represent the hamza in all cases.
 ُ = a ِ = ā
 ُ = u ِ = ū
 ِ = i ِ = ī

In Aljamiado manuscripts certain graphic conventions had established themselves, although other spellings occur.

ʾ = e	ġ = ñ	ش = s
ġ = p	ʿ = u/o	ج = ll [ɹ]
ʾ o = o/vow.	ġ = rr	č = č [ʧ]

To avoid any bias towards Romance or any anachronic reading, we shall give where necessary the broad phonetic value of any illustration between square brackets. For convenience, the IPA chart is included before the introduction. As for the theoretical principles governing the transliteration, they are explained in 6.4. Arabic proper names will appear transcribed in a modified version of their original phonemic shape to assist easy recognition, except where they appear in an Arabic context:

e.g. Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī as-Sabtī

but

wa-hu s-sayk ʾabū ġa^cfar aḥmad bnu l-ʾas^cad.

TRANSLATION

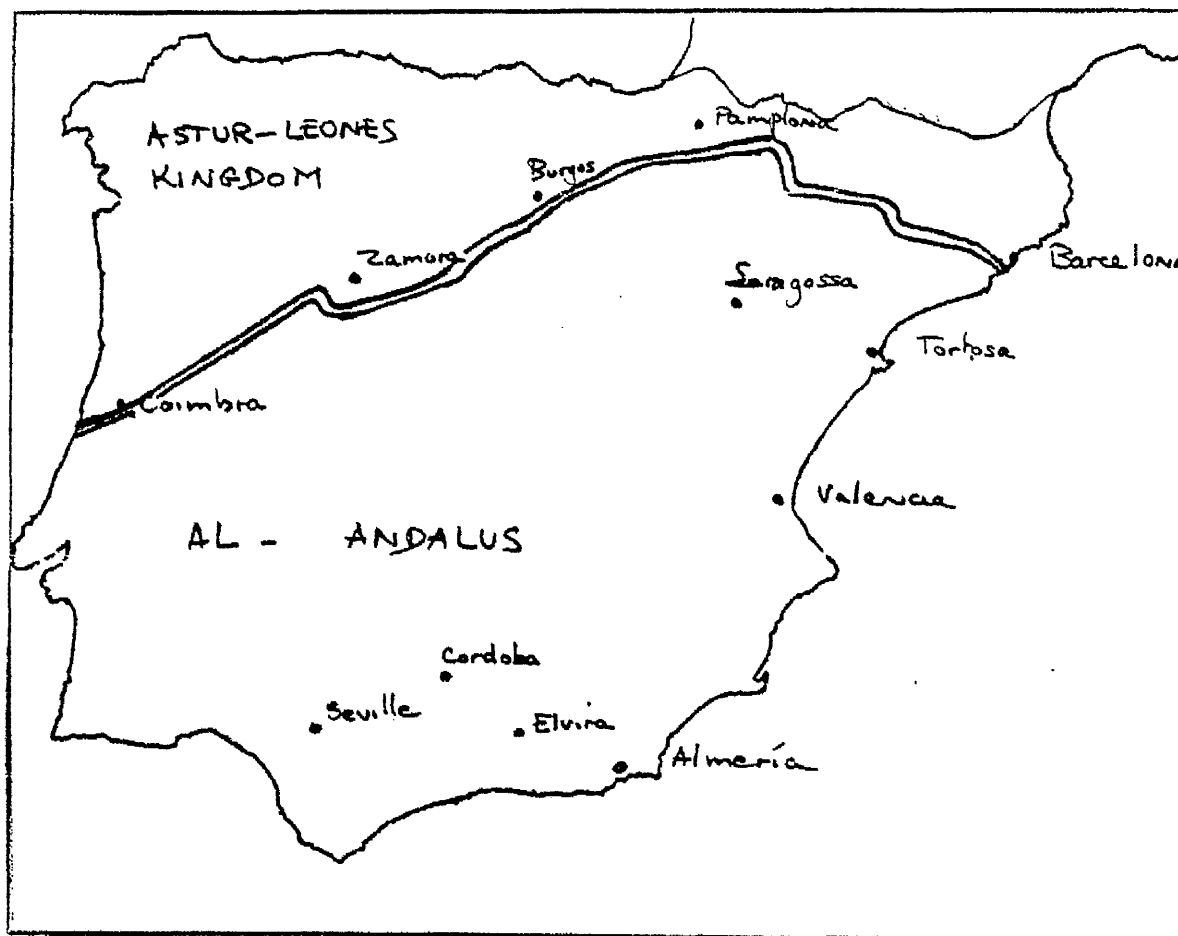
All translations are personal unless otherwise stated.

ABBREVIATIONS

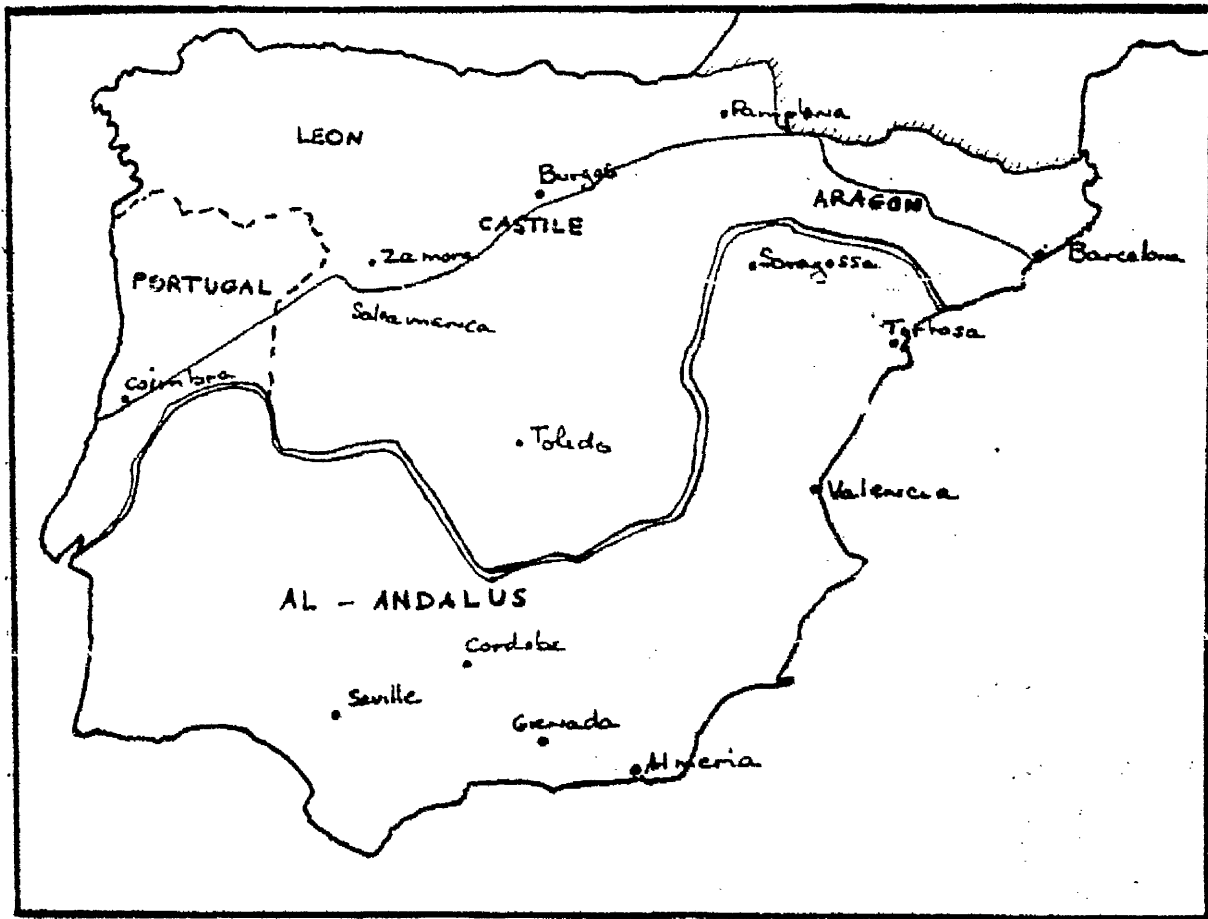
- AD: Anno Domini, Christian era.
- AH: Anno Hegira by analogy, Islamic era.
- AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
- BNM: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- Cl6: The sixteenth century. This device has been used on account of the constant reference to different periods in history mentioned throughout the study.
- c.: circa, approximate date.
- COD: Concise Oxford Dictionary.
- CODOIN: Colección de Documentos Inéditos, Madrid.
- CSIC: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Official Research Body with various institutes all over Spain. It sponsors a number of specialized publications.
- EI: ^{del'}Encyclopédie Islam. see bibliography.
Encyclopedia of Islam.
- Fol.r.: Folio recto, front of page.
- Fol.v.: Folio verso, back of page.
- Junta: ~~Now~~ Instituto Miguel Asín, CSIC, Madrid.
- Mod.Sp.: Modern Spanish, contemporary usage.
- Ms.: Manuscript.

SYMBOLS

- === : Aljamía, the English translation of which will be in capital letters.
- ~ : Alternating with x.
- : Borrowed lexical items
- .C : Consonant
- [] : Clause boundary
- x : Enclitic
- I : Invariant, see chapter 6.
- N : Nominal component, see chapter 6.
- () : Optional
- x- : Root boundary
- RRR : Triliteral root
- V : Verbal component, see chapter 6.
- C=C : Vowel of undefined quality.
- x : Unknown morph(s)

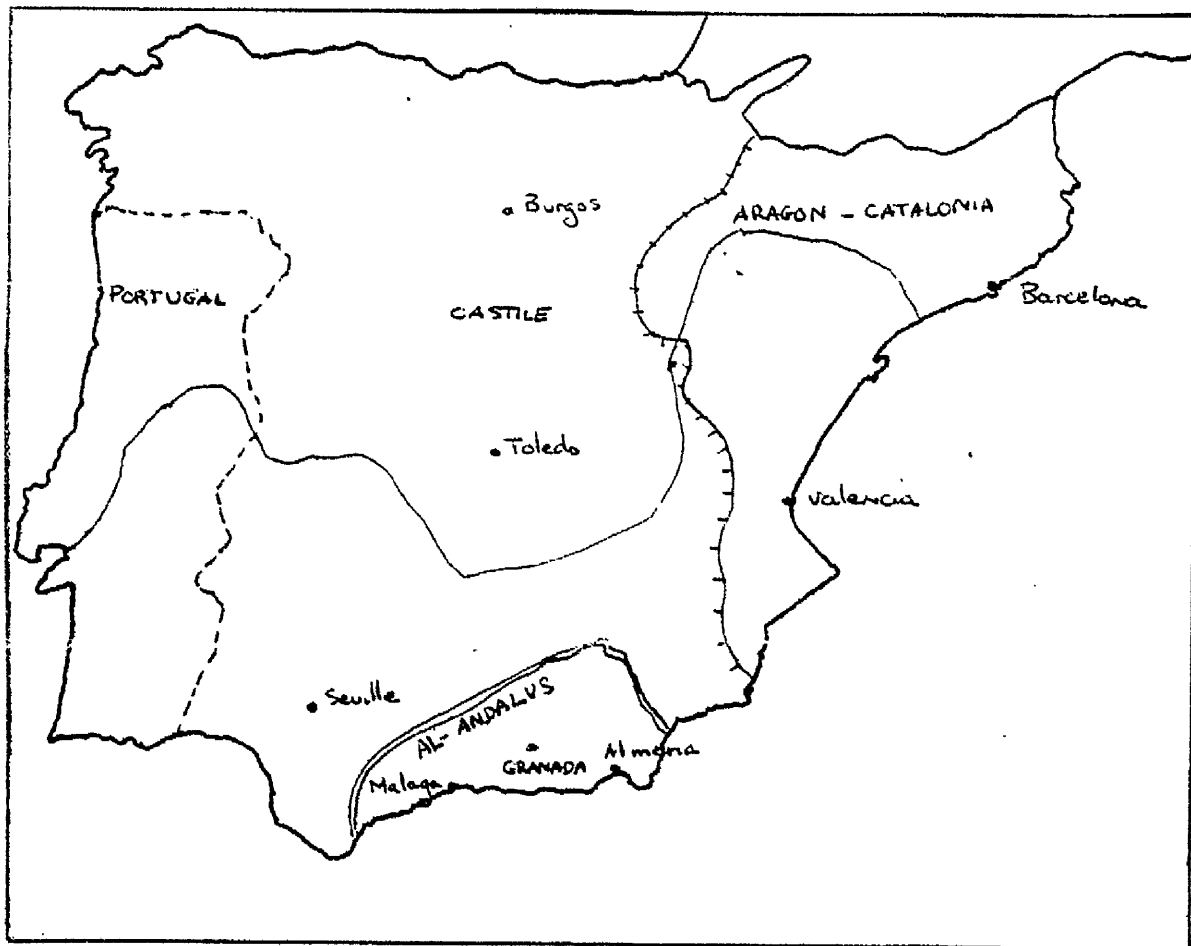


MAP 1: IBERIA early C10



MAP 2: IBERIA c.1091

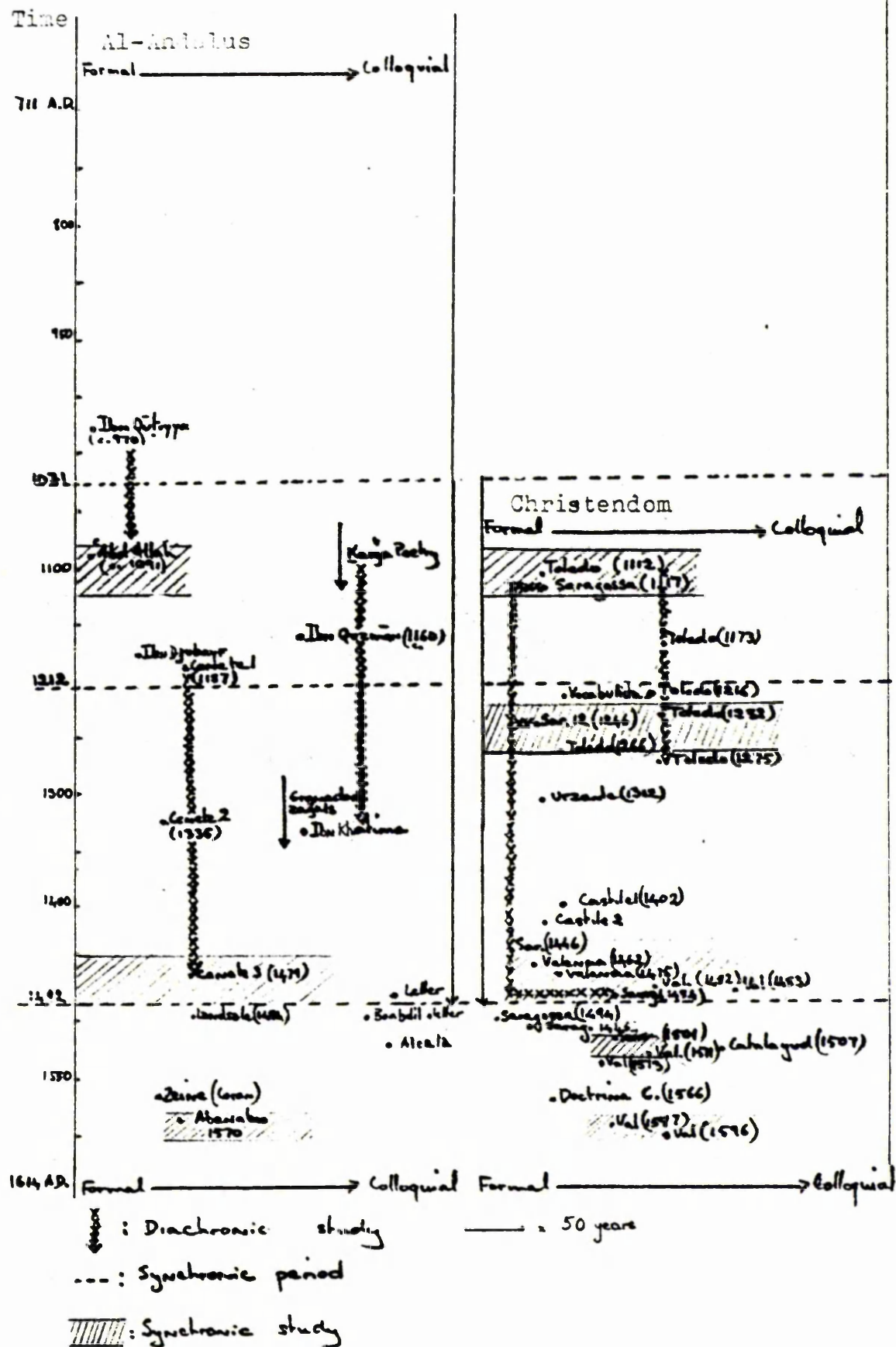
____ = frontier early C10.



MAP 3: IBERIA c.1272

_____ = frontier c.1091.

Diachronic Chart of Arabic Sources



(Revised to 1979)

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental, Alveolar, or Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Labio- Palatal	Labio- Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
2	m	ɱ	a	ɳ		ɸ	g	ʁ				
3	p	b	t d	ʈ ɖ		c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ				ʔ
4	f	v	θ ð s z	ʈ ɖ	j ʒ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ			ħ ʕ	ʕ
5		ɸ	ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ		ɕ ʝ						
6			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								
7			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								
8			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								
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98			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								
99			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								
100			ɬ ɮ	ʈ ɖ								

OTHER SYMBOLS

1. Voiceless φ φ
 2. Voiced β
 3. Aspirated β^h
 4. Devoiced β^h
 5. Dental β^d
 6. Labialized β^l
 7. Palatalized β^j
 8. Velarized or Pharyngealized β^g
 9. Sybilic β^s
 10. Simultaneous β (but see also under the heading
- or: Raised α , φ , ψ
 or: Lowered α , φ , ψ
 or: Advanced α , φ
 or: Retracted α , φ
 or: Centralized α
 or: Neutralized α
 or: Coloured α , φ , ψ
 or: Long α
 or: Half-long α
 or: Non-syllabic α
 or: More rounded α
 or: Less rounded α
1. α = Alveolo-palatal fricatives
 2. β = Palatalized β
 3. β^h = Alveolar fricative trill
 4. β^d = Alveolar lateral flap
 5. β^l = Simultaneous β and φ
 6. β^j = Variety of β resembling β^j , etc.

[illegible]

This chart has been included by kind permission of
The International Phonetic Association. 25.01.84

INTRODUCTION

Interference between two families of language is always interesting to a linguist. When these two worlds collide, their surface structure is ripped to pieces and disordered fragments of deeper layers become accessible. In the normal situation, only the surface structure, the language as it is expressed in speech and writing, may be observed, and since the deep structure is not available, the validation of any theory of language is frequently unsatisfactory. The contact situation offers a different kind of material and one of the few opportunities for testing existing hypotheses of underlying structure. The result should lead to a better understanding of the nature of language itself. The difficulty is, of course, that the shattered fragments have to be pieced together with no previous model to follow, rather in a similar fashion to proto-language reconstruction. Be that as it may, the opportunity was there, the challenge had to be met.

The contact situation in Iberia (1) lasted for as long as there were native speakers of the dialects from the two families of languages, Romance and Arabic, that is - nine centuries. Therefore change was another factor to be taken into account. Some research has been carried out with respect to the description of sound changes in Spanish Arabic dialects; more recently tentative models have predicted future developments in existing varieties (2), e.g. simplification of consonant clusters, deletion of redundant plural morphemes, on

- 1 The area of Portugal has been included up to the period when it became an independent state, as it was felt that this would give greater cohesion to the study, if the Peninsula were treated as a whole.
- 2 See article in appendices.

the grounds that these occurrences have happened in unrelated languages and therefore are not language specific but universal. Comparative lexical studies with regard to Arabic loans and place names have often been to the forefront of diachronic investigation and have a strong tradition to support them. Less seems to have been achieved with the level of syntax (1). For this reason the sentence is taken in this study as the smallest unit of analysis. This allows us to go beyond the unit (a single sentence) and include style, register and social code. This is part of linguistic reality and perfectly normal and should feature in the framework as being closer to our daily experience as language users.

It is possible for a researcher to gain an understanding of any dialect as a whole but this requires the laborious collection of fragmentary detail until the picture appears at last. Such methods say nothing of mutual intelligibility between neighbouring varieties (overlap) and almost nothing about borrowing. My objective in approaching the phenomena from a syntactic point of view was to gain an insight into what patterns favour mutual comprehension and borrowing and which could impede it. When the socio-political environment is right a high frequency of occurrence will be predicted for the former type. On the other hand, when adverse non-linguistic factors intervene, the latter type would prevail and foster differentiation. When this takes place, it is plausible that the previous highly frequent patterns become less used, while other language specific diverging patterns

1 With the notable exception of Corriente (1977).
For a definition of the term, see 6.1.

become more popular as a reflection of cultural resistance. Such differences then become the basis of shibboleths, such as the Spanish word cebolla "onion" which separated the "sheep from the goats", the Old Christians from the Moriscos in Granada. Granted that an in-depth study of one dialect may be preferable as being more accurate than the present synthetic one in that our perspective entails a selection of facts and hence a measure of falsification, we feel that this change of approach may shed light on common developments in unrelated dialects, such as the emergence of counter-cultural varieties (Aljamía) and the demise of a language (Arabic).

The fact that Arabic was spoken in Spain should provide a "laboratory situation", a completed event which began at a given moment in time and ceased at another. What was needed was an accurate as possible description of the social background coupled with a dated linguistic corpus as varied as possible. Both make up the situation. The question is: do present models of linguistic theory account for this contact state of language and adequately predict further developments? The results of this research indicate that changes in the theory are necessary. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 and suggestions for further theoretical development resulting from the research are given in Chapter 9.

This leads us to borrowing, another major factor to be found in any contact situation. Only when the process is fully described and understood can it be used to measure the impact of two different non-intelligible languages. The same circumstances, which if they prevail for any period of time

cause pidgin and creole to appear. The study is in part an answer to the lack of socio-historical context to these mixed varieties. It may come as a surprise to experts in creole and pidgin studies to see the mixed Iberian dialects included in their field. Did not the socio-political conditions resemble those of present-day creole/pidgin speakers? Governing and subject classes spoke a different language, had a different culture and different values. Up till now it has generally been accepted that bilingualism (of 'some sort) was widespread in Al-Andalus as a result of widespread slavery.

Finally, curiosity led one to question certain assumptions about (i) the general state of bilingualism existing in Al-Andalus, as we have mentioned; (ii) similarly among the Mozarabic inhabitants of Toledo; and (iii) about whether the Moriscos had lost the use of Arabic at the time of the expulsion. The study attempts to provide some answers to the essential questions of Who spoke what? When? Where?

PART I - HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CHAPTER ONE: AL-ANDALUS

1.1 The political situation: a summary

To begin to understand the unusual situation which brought together in Europe two great families of languages, the Latin-based Romance and the Semitic varieties of Arabic and Hebrew, for nine centuries, it is necessary to refer to the History of the Iberian Peninsula for an account of the shifting balance of power between the three religious communities. As these events are well known to the specialist, we have selected only what may shed light on the linguistic situation.

At the eve of the invasion by the first wave of Moslem conquerors, the Peninsula, together with much of Europe, was rocked by dissension, mainly political in nature. A common feature of the times was the insignificance of the king as first lord of the land. The exceptions to this rule were endowed with outstanding qualities as military leaders and to a lesser degree as administrators; such were Leovigild (568-586 AD) and Reccared (586-601 AD) and north of the Pyrenees Pepin (751-758 AD) and Charlemagne (768-814 AD). Every new successor to the throne had to establish the authority of the Crown over the peers of the realm who, in turn, held vast expanses of territory, sometimes larger and more prosperous than the king's. All too frequently this led to rebellions and punitive expeditions.

Another aspect of this struggle between king and peers centred on the issue of succession to the throne. In an attempt to avoid fratricidal wars, the murder of rival pretenders and members of their families, the crown prince was, at times, given a smaller kingdom or a share in the affairs of the state in the lifetime of his father; brothers might be given joint regal status (cf. Liuva I and Leovigild). These were short-term measures that could not overcome the intrinsic weakness of monarchy for a very long time to come. Moreover, a further practice had come to be used: whenever a king died without sons to follow him, peers and clergy would elect a new sovereign. This step easily cancelled any advantages the Crown might have gained over the nobility. When the Moslem invaders set foot in the Peninsula, Wittiza had died (710 AD) and the forces of the country were divided between those who backed the sons of Wittiza and those who had elected a new king, Roderic.

Whether or not in support of the sons of Wittiza, after negotiations between Count Julian, governor of the region of Tangiers, and Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, wālī of Ifrīqiya (governor of North Africa), a host of 7000 men, under the command of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, landed in July 711 near Algeciras. The Christian army met them and was completely routed. According to Ibn Qūṭayya (1), the decisive factor that gave victory to the invader was the withdrawal of the troops under the orders of the sons of Wittiza during the battle. They were "rewarded" with cession of the 3000 villages that had been

1 See 7.1; also Gayangos (1843: 30-31, 51).

part of the estates of their father. Thus, they came to form part of the new élite and from the very beginning, members of the royal family converted to Islam or accepted the new ways, as, for instance, Prince Artobas (1).

With the Christian side defeated, scattered and demoralized, Tāriq proceeded unimpeded towards Cordoba. Reinforcements brought his army up to 12,000 (2). He reached Toledo, the capital, in 714. Meanwhile, Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, the governor of North Africa, landed at the head of a second expedition of 18,000 strong (2). He advanced towards Merida and met up with Tāriq in Toledo. Within five years the newcomers had crossed the Pyrenees and were raiding the plains of Carcassonne and the valley of the Rhône.

Tensions were building up, despite and probably on account of the unexpected ease with which the Moslem invaders had conquered the Peninsula. The causes were two-fold. There was a divergence of opinion between the caliph of Damascus and the military leaders who had won over the Peninsula to Islam, in respect to the sharing of the booty (3). Damascus was forced to give in gracefully, yet the issue paved the way for a definite cooling in diplomatic relations and contributed to the political isolation of Al-Andalus - as the new territories were called - from the power centres of the Caliphate. No less serious were the incipient disputes between Arab leaders and Berber contingents in the distribution and settlement of the land. The

1 See 7.1; also Gayangos (1843:30-31, 51).

2 Dozy (1920:II:33, 37).

3 Cruz Hernández (1979:28).

latter complained that their share did not match that of the Arabs. It is true to say that, in the main, the Arabs opted for the plains and city life, and the Berbers were left with arid, semi-cultivated, mountainous expanses (1). This division explains why far less is known to this day about the Berbers and their way of life than the urban dwellers. The issue is complex and compounded by tribal feuds of an imported nature, such as Qays and Kalb with the African converts siding with this or that faction. The situation erupted in 740 and turmoil spread to North Africa in the guise of religious dissension (2). The caliph was forced to intervene and sent an army of 10,000 Arabs from Syria to pacify the rebellious Berbers. That army, reduced to 7,000, eventually made its way to Spain. While it brought the country to the verge of civil war, provoking even further the Berbers of Al-Andalus, creating friction with another group, the Baladies (first settlers) who had been deprived of their lands in favour of these latecomers (3), it strengthened undoubtedly the side of the Qays Arabs.

The landing of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, sole survivor of the Umayyad family in 755, must be seen in this context. He owed his success to the unflinching support of the Yemeni (Kalb) faction (4). 'Abd ar-Raḥmān's victory over the wāli of Al-Andalus severed definitely the links with the caliph. Al-Andalus became an independent state.

- 1 Vallvé (1978:93, 107); Dozy (1920:I:241); Cruz Hernández (1979:31).
- 2 The Kharijite movement.
- 3 Asín Palacios (1934:36), "Un codice inexplorado".
- 4 Cruz Hernández (1979:37-8): "He arrived under the protection of the pro-Umayyad Syrian clan, [and] triumphed with the help of the Yemeni Baladies and a fair number of Berbers."

No sooner had ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān I entered Cordoba in 756, war broke out again in the form of rebellions. His former supporters on the one hand, and the discontented Berbers on the other, expected more than he was prepared to give. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān was in a desperate situation. He had everything to lose, and could scarcely afford any error of judgement on the battlefield. Luck and determination gave him victory in the end. Not only was he a fine soldier, he was also an organiser. He gradually reformed the army, which he needed continuously to put down the endemic risings, by increasing the number and the proportion of mercenaries (1). These he paid from taxes levied on his non-Moslem subjects and from the confiscated property of those who had lost his favour (e.g. the descendants of Wittiza). Furthermore he was successful in neutralizing for a time the ancient tribal feuds, mentioned previously. This was possible through his policy of welcoming clients and members of the Umayyad family. The Syrians became the new élite. If diplomatic links were, indeed, tenuous between Cordoba and Baghdad (the capital of the Abbāsid empire), paradoxically, the court of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān took an ever greater interest in all the arts and modes of thinking from the East. For the Syrians were not the hardy soldiers of the first wave of conquerors; they came with their families, bringing with them the sophisticated culture of Damascus and Byzantium.

1 Dozy (1920:I:358) quoting al-Maqqarī: "He brought slaves ... [and] enrolled a multitude of Berbers, brought over from Africa, with which his permanent army rose to 40,000 men."

Hishām I maintained the internal cohesion of Al-Andalus by organizing military expeditions against the Christian lands of the North. The raids afforded substantial quantities of booty and taxation was consequently low.

Al-Ḥakam I (796-822) returned to his grandfather's policies, surrounding himself with people who owed everything to him, whom he could appoint or dismiss at will: clients, converts, Christians (Mozarabs), slaves or "slavs" (saqāliba) and Berbers. By then, the affairs of the state required the attention of administrators to assist the ruler with details and minor decisions. The leading families resented that power should fall into such unworthy hands to their exclusion! The religious faction, headed by the faqīhs (jurists) deplored the independence of the court and ruler (1). Of all the uprisings, that of the Arrabal (suburb of Cordoba) was the most critical; al-Ḥakam burnt down the district, the surviving inhabitants fled to Fez (2) and Crete.

The rule of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān II saw the consolidation of the administration that emerged haphazardly in the previous reign. In the years up to 852, Chancery, Mint and Treasury expanded into a complex bureaucracy. Meanwhile, new towns were built, cities were modernized and other public works carried out. All this suggests a pause in the expansion

- 1 Burckhardt (1972:33): "The chief complaint against him was that he was a drunkard and that he surrounded himself with strong bodyguards of Slavs in order to be independent of the Arab nobility, and this was considered unpardonable."
- 2 Burckhardt (op.cit.): "cf. the Andalusian quarter".

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policies, a lull in the annual forays, a period of relative peace troubled only by bouts of social unrest in the towns.

Among the several groups at odds with the contemporary balance of power, resting in the person of the ruler, his civil servants and the aristocracy composed of Arab families - the weaker the ruler, the greater the pull of the aristocracy - were the Muladies (native Spanish Moslems), who resented their exclusion from political life (1), and the Mozarabs (Christians), the latter being of more immediate interest. A minority of these waged "holy war" against the authorities, until the more vociferous of them were put to death for blasphemy. Not much more can be gleaned from the chronicles (2). Looking back on the events, one may ask what led this small group of people to martyrdom. It is probable that these events occurred after a prolonged period of forceful assimilation. One interpretation of Eulogio's comments (3) is that Christian culture was rapidly disappearing in Al-Andalus. The sources lead one to believe that taxation had increased considerably to pay for the public works undertaken and that non-Moslems had to bear the brunt of it.

Then followed a troubled period from 852 to 912 that saw major uprisings in many parts of the land. What distinguishes them from the previous urban conflict, which simmered on until ⁶Abd ar-Rahmān III altered the balance of power, is that large areas, often bordering Christian states,

1 Cf. the Kharijite movement.

2 Cf. España Sagrada.

3 Dozy (1920:II:96-97).

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withdrew their allegiance and sought independence from Cordoba. The cohesion of Al-Andalus rested solely on the ruler and not on any institution nor tradition.

ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III had no alternative but to regain these lost territories; for a number of years he directed military expeditions until he subdued, one by one, the rebellious leaders. The year after he had all but pacified Al-Andalus, he proclaimed himself caliph in 929. It is not unlikely that he took this unexpected step to bestow greater dignity, and hence respect, to the position of ruling prince and to strengthen the bonds of fealty between subject and ruler. There were no doubt other reasons too, the contemporary situation in the Maghrib and the increasing influence of the Fāṭimids, for instance. From then on, he strove in every way to endow his reign with pomp and splendour in order to rival Baghdad. The years 929 to 976,^{up to} the death of al-Ḥakam II, are the golden years of the Caliphate. The Christian kings of the north who had taken advantage of the internal troubles besetting southern Spain to extend their territories to a line just north of Coimbra and Salamanca, excluding Osma, the upper valleys of the Pyrenees and Barcelona - that is, about one-third of the Peninsula - were held in check now. The time had come for reforms. The old aristocracy of Arab families were excluded from decision making and, what is more, from commanding the army, as a result of their performance in the battle of Simancas. This meant that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān was less exposed to their intriguing and unreliability; yet in replacing them by administrators of his making and choosing, he isolated the ruler from the outside world (1)

1 Cf. Ibn ʿArabī of Murcia, Muḥāḍarat al-ʿabrār, vol. II, p.195, Cairo, 1305 AH; also in Asín Palacios (1959: ٢٧).

and paved the way for the palatial takeover of the ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Manṣūr in 976 (1). . New civil servants were recruited from slaves, Muladies (muwalladāt) with a few able Mozarabs and Jews. With these measures urban unrest died away. The army was re-organized. Large numbers of Berbers were drafted to replace the tribal base system of levy abandoned under Hishām II (2). Another feature of his reign was the extensive building carried out. According to Chejne (3), quoting Arabic sources, he assigned a third of the revenue to improving the irrigation system, enlarging the great mosque, and in 937 work started on Madīna az-Zahra, a vast palatial complex some miles outside Cordoba.

Nevertheless, the massive arrivals of mercenaries, more particularly at the end of the century, upset the social balance of Al-Andalus. Contrary to the rest of the population, these mercenaries did not generate wealth, yet required to be paid. Taxation increased and al-Manṣūr (Muḥammad Ibn Abī ^cĀmir) who governed the country first as chamberlain of Hishām II, then as ruler from 981 - for the caliph had become a figurehead - was forced to organize annual campaigns against the Christians to keep his forces occupied. These expeditions ensured a periodic supply of booty which served to palliate the ever-increasing need for more revenue. The point of no return was reached when he imposed the choice of his son ^cAbd

- 1 Cf. Ibn Khaldūn sees this process as crucial in the decline of the Umayyad dynasty.
- 2 Makki (1968:47): Almanzor put an end once and for all to tribal dissension. The troops were reformed with soldiers from every tribe without distinction or privilege.
- 3 Chejne (1980:42).

al-Malik to succeed him. The stage was set for civil war. Those loyal to the Umayyad princes could not accept such an imposition. The civil servants and the army leaders owed everything to al-Manṣūr and sided with ʿAbd al-Malik. A slightly different interpretation is offered by García Gómez, based on the autobiography of ʿAbd Allāh, King of Granada (1), who writes that the Andalusians were not even capable of fighting flies! (2) Thus García Gómez argues that al-Manṣūr had no alternative but to rely on mercenaries (3). Peace would last as long as they were paid.

ʿAbd al-Malik governed only nine years, during which he continued his father's policies. His brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sanchol followed him in 1009. Within a few months he was deposed and the Berber mercenaries expelled from the capital. Two years later they re-entered Cordoba, with a vengeance. The inhabitants fled in terror (4). Fourteen caliphs ruled in those terrible years of the fitna (1009-1031). Most were assassinated. Order slowly emerged, away from Cordoba, around the more populated towns, on a regional basis. The country longed for peace. Under the protection of local tribal leaders, agriculture and trade activities started again. The Caliphate had passed away, the era of the taifa rulers (mulūk at-tawāʿif) had begun.

The Berbers settled round Granada and Malaga, the Saqāliba (slaves) along the coast from Murcia to Catalonia.

1 See 7.2.1.

2 The fact that only the Banū Hūd of Saragossa were able to withstand the Almoravids confirms this view. Al-ḥulal al mawṣiyya, Huici Miranda (1952:88).

3 García Gómez (1979), "Cordoba", Juan March Lectures (unpublished).

4 Cf. Ibn Hazm (see 7.2.2).

The Arab families and Muladies governed elsewhere. Internal peace was more precarious in these new times. It no longer depended on one central figure. The ill feelings between Berber and Arab were still alive (1). The local ruler was at the mercy of insubordination from his own officers and the lure of raiding neighbouring states was ever present. Conspirators and potential victims would appeal to the Christian kings to support their claim. This was always forthcoming at a price! (the paria or tribute) (2). It is fair to say that al-Manṣūr was the first to apply the system to the Christians, whereby if they presented him with a suitable sum he would spare a given region from the inroads of his raiding parties. The fitna had brought about a dramatic reversal of circumstances. Several caliphs had requested help from the Christian rulers. These had been in the position not only of exacting tributes but of placing or deposing any candidate they chose. As a result Al-Andalus was slowly bled dry; there was no respite either for the winning prince or for the loser. One paid for "services", the other for having lost. Meanwhile the constant flow of money brought a new prosperity to the northern kingdoms (3). The process was gradual at first. Until 1076, Castile and Leon were periodically fighting over whether to merge or not under one king. Aragon and Navarre united to withstand the increasing influence of Castile. Christendom was preparing to advance.

1 See 7.2.1. King ⁶Abd Allāh of Granada draws a vivid picture of the times. El siglo XI en la primera persona

(468-483 AH), García Gómez trad. (1980).

2 Mackay (1977:27-29).

3 Mackay (1977:30).

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The period up to the fall of Toledo in 1085 was quite unique in a way. Never had there been so many contacts between Moslem and Christian, at the diplomatic level. Christian princes were thoroughly familiar with the Moorish way of life. Indeed, when the Cid was banished from the court of Castile, he served for a time the Banū Hūd of Saragossa. Alfonso VI of Castile found refuge, in his youth, at the Dūl Nūn court of Toledo (1). In later years, his counsellor was, for a time, Sisinando Davídiz. As a boy he was captured in Galicia and taken back as a slave to Seville, where he was given the careful education of a state servant. After spending many years at the Abbādid court, he escaped and made his way to Toledo, where he became invaluable to Alfonso VI (2). These few examples will illustrate the spirit of the times.

The conquest of Toledo brought about a change. It took place after a prolonged siege, carefully planned and carried out by the king of Castile. This was strategy of a new kind (3). There was relatively little fighting, yet the army over a period of seven years had to be maintained in fighting condition and free from boredom. All the while, offers alternated with threats for the inhabitants of the town. No help was forthcoming from the taifa rulers. Only a concerted effort might have saved Toledo. The paria

- 1 García Gómez (1979), "Sevilla", Juan March Lectures (unpublished).
- 2 Menéndez Pidal, García Gómez (1947:29), "El conde mozárabe Sisinando Davídiz y la política de Alfonso VI en Toledo".
- 3 The expense involved could be met only by a wealthy state.

system had drained most of their resources; coalitions could not be forged overnight where personal rivalries existed (1); finally, the geographical position of the town was a drawback, being situated a long way from Moslem towns, in the centre of a tableland. Toledo, deprived of outside relief, fell the victim of internal dissension and capitulated (2). The event had an enormous impact: for the Christians it was a prodigy, for the Moslems an omen to mend their ways.

Alfonso VI (later as Ferdinand II of Aragon) faced two possible courses: the bland option, observing strictly the capitulation clauses and maintaining present levels of tribute; and the harsh but more expedient option. He followed the latter (as the Catholic king would do later). It is curious to note that both had wives with strong personalities. Queen Constance was largely responsible for introducing the French influence in court which would have such a decisive importance in reforming the Spanish Church. Within Toledo, the Great Mosque was taken over in spite of the "Capitulations"; elsewhere the parias were raised to intolerable levels. The taifa rulers were slowly driven to requesting help from Africa. They disliked the desert Berbers for their rough ways and feared, not without reason, for their own lives. Civil unrest was threatening. The masses, having to bear the weight of the tribute and pay taxes to their overlord,

- 1 Chejne (1980:55). See also King Abd Allāh.
- 2 King Abd Allāh. "He seized Toledo, through the gradual weakening of its master." Also cf. García Gómez (1979: "Sevilla").

(1) began responding to the arguments of the religious party of the faqīh. They interpreted the weakening of Al-Andalus and the unbearable financial pressure as divine retribution for the dissolute life of the nobility. They saw Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn as the leader who would bring back Al-Andalus to strict observancy and begged the Almoravides to come and "deliver" them:

"When these letters reaches Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn, Prince of the Moslems, he saw their need and understood their point. He informed his brothers and relatives and said:- What do you think of this? The Almoravides were people of the desert, they had never seen a Christian and had not fought other battles than those they waged among themselves. They were keen to fight and wanted to invade Al-Andalus. So that when their spiritual leader asked for their advice, they said:- May God help the Prince of the Moslems! Concerning what you have mentioned about bringing relief, this is the duty of every Moslem who believes in God and the Prophet. It is indeed proper to help a Moslem brother and this does not diminish our wish to march against the enemy, although there is a stretch of water that separates us." (2)

The quotation should not be taken as the actual statement of what was said on that occasion. The chronicle itself was completed in 1382, but it does include contemporary accounts. Its interest lies in its relative accuracy as well as in the arguments presented to justify the invasion and in praise of the figure of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn. With this in mind, there is no reason to doubt the spirit of the above excerpt, which favours this outstanding leader. The passage

- 1 al-Himyarī, Rawd al-mi^ctār, in Mackay (1977:37): "The Christians organize expeditions to [our country] and leave with booty. Whatever is left...goes to the Arabs, and their taxes. All the money of [our] land goes to Castile to pay the tribute. May God have mercy and look after His servants!"
- 2 Fol ۳۶ . Al ḥulal al Mawṣiyya, in Huici Miranda (1952:63).

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does reveal some telling details about these warriors:

- (i) Their isolation from contacts with the outside world.
- (ii) That previous to any call for help, they had already considered raiding the Peninsula!
- (iii) That they feared instinctively the sea, and this had retarded their plans.
- (iv) That the appeal on religious grounds had overcome their doubts in this respect.

The North Africans landed in 1085. These desert Berbers had just united all the tribes from the Sahara to the Rif mountains in their religious movement back to orthodoxy based on a literal interpretation of the Koran. Marrakesh was the capital of their new empire. They were formidable fighters who prided themselves on holding their ground whatever the odds, combined with religious zeal. Some historians claim that they brought out the "crusader" spirit in the Christian soldier in Spain (1). We do not know whether this is coincidental or not, but after the arrival of the Almoravides, strong contingents of foreigners, in particular French knights, regularly fought side by side with Castilian and Aragonese. Moreover, military orders with similar ideals came into existence within a short time (2). The darker

1 By transfer of the djihād (holy war) concept.
 2 Mackay (1980:42-44), I. de las Cagigas (1953:21):
 "The soldier dervish that came from the Sahara and the 'frère' of the military orders created in his image murdered it (the status quo) with their violence." The point made is that the foreign element gave a new dimension to the perennial fight between Moslems and the Christian north.
 Much of the higher clergy was under the sway of Cluny and sensitive to Papal policy and therefore hostile to the Mozarab (native) faction. The Almoravides were outlandish in their appearance and behaviour. Their

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side of these soldiering "saints" of both creeds crystallized the rising religious intolerance into a fanaticism that never abated (except perhaps under Alfonso X) until the stronger party had assimilated, uprooted or expelled the weaker party.

The combined Moslem armies defeated Alfonso VI, but Ibn Tāshufīn, on hearing of the death of his favourite son, lost interest and returned to Marrakesh with his host. Within two years Alfonso VI had mustered another army and was raiding Al-Andalus. Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn came back, this time he rid himself of untrustworthy taifa kings (1). Al-Andalus had become a province of the Berber Empire. The Almoravid triumph was short lived. By now their empire covered an area which extended from Senegal to Toledo, with social groups of widely different origins and interests. Cohesion demanded a sophisticated administration and this would have required a similar transformation to that of the first invaders, in the C8. The Almoravides, however, were more concerned with events in the Maghrib; Al-Andalus, to them, was only a province on the northern borders, separated

...veiled countenances must have awed the Christians who felt justified in requesting help from the rest of Europe since the taifa kings had - as it were - broken the rules by appealing to non-Spanish forces. While this is permissible in Islam (the brotherhood of the Faithful), it clashed with the European concept of incipient nationalism. Even though some of the taifa rulers were aware of the possible outcome of an African intervention, they were outmanoeuvred by the religious masses (cf. Al ḥulal al Mawṣiyya). Contemporary also (1076) is Alexis II's appeal to the pope for foreign troops against Seljuks. These and other factors went to form the spirit of the crusades.

1129: The Order of St John of Jerusalem receives land from the King of Navarre. León Tello (1964:329).

1134: The Order of the Temple is established in Castile.

1 See King 'Abd Allāh 7.2.

by the sea from their tribal home bases. This gradual loss of control coincided with a new wave of religious fervour that swept the mountain tribes of the Atlas. More mystical than the orthodox Almoravides, the Almohades (al-muwahh̥idūn) contested the latter's interpretation of the Koran. They rebelled against them and in 1147 the Almohades seized Marrakesh.

Alfonso VI died without a surviving son in 1109. An unsettled period of shifting alliances began. His two sons-in-law, Raymond and Henry of Burgundy, had played a leading part in the defence of the realm in the last years of his reign. The two princes were among the French knights who had joined Alfonso's armies. Henry married Teresa, Countess of Oporto. It was their son, Alfonso Henriques, who, after campaigning successfully against the Moors south of the Douro river, declared himself independent of Castile and King of Portugal (1139-1143). Raymond of Burgundy married Urraca, Alfonso VI's eldest daughter, who was to become the reigning queen at the death of her father, as her husband died shortly before Alfonso VI. A second marriage was arranged with Alfonso I, king of Aragon and Navarre. This union was doomed to failure. It went against the interests of the French party (nobles and clergy); nor did it please the nobility of Navarre who had repeatedly fought off the encroachments of Castile. It was annulled. Alfonso I of Aragon was then able to give all his attention to expanding his territories southwards. At the head of his army, strengthened by numerous foreign contingents (1), he

1 Mackay (1981:42). The Council of Toulouse had granted the status of crusade to the siege of Saragossa (1118).

besieged Saragossa, the prosperous capital of the former Banū Hūd taifa kingdom. The city capitulated in 1118 (1). Tudela, Calatayud and Daroca fell in 1120. He then organized a series of expeditions in the Valencia region and a memorable one to Andalucia in 1125, which did not produce any lasting result, except that he is said to have returned with 14,000 Mozarabs. Neither had the counts of Barcelona been inactive. In an attempt to keep up with the Aragonese expansion, indeed to avoid being outflanked, they had pushed back the frontier with Islam to the mouth of the Ebro river.

The Christian advances in Portugal, Aragon and Catalonia, the increasing interference of the Italian fleets and the predatory acts of the Banū Ġāniyah of Majorca made the presence of the Almohades unavoidable. When ^cAbd al-Mu'min finally came over in 1160, he was made very welcome by the beleaguered Andalusians.⁽²⁾ He died, however, soon after, just as he was preparing to launch a major attack against the northern kings. Yūsuf Ibn ^cAbd al-Mu'min had been the governor of Seville, the capital of Al-Andalus in his father's lifetime. He had had an excellent education (3) and, as his father had done, he surrounded himself with able advisers. Famous writers and philosophers visited his court (4) and Seville recovered some

1 Lacarra (1947:86): "La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I".

2 Huici Miranda (1952:185-6): "From all parts of Al-Andalus delegations came to see him; poets and orators would praise him in their works." Fol. 179 Al hūlal.

3 Ibid., pp.180-1.

4 Burckhardt (1972:139-145).

of the glory Al-Andalus had known in C10. Yet in military affairs he was less fortunate and probably less able than his father. He died fighting in Portugal in 1185.

Provoked by Alfonso VIII's raids in the region of Seville, Ya^Cqūb al-Mansūr came over from Africa in 1195. To understand this period, it is essential to remember that the capital of the empire was Marrakesh. Consequently, the caliphs spent a great deal of their time away from Al-Andalus. Yūsuf Ibn ^CAbd al-Mu'min was an exception. In their absence the country was administered by governors. It was only when the Christians brought about intolerable pressure on the frontiers, that the caliph came in person. There is no doubt that this extensive travelling did weaken the ruler physically and, as is the case with overextended empires, no sooner was he in a given place than a revolt would break out at the other extreme of the land. Ya^Cqūb al-Mansūr crushed the Castilians at Alarcos in 1195, and had recaptured Salamanca and Guadalajara (1), when he was forced to return to Africa to stamp out another rebellion.

It seems that the Christians realized that the Almohades were still formidable foes. Only if they made an effort to overcome their differences, would they be able to counter Islam. The opportunity came when Muḥammad al-Nāṣir arrived at the head of an army in 1210. Alfonso VIII persuaded the pope to call a new crusade. Many foreign soldiers made their way to Toledo from France and beyond; the kings of Navarre and Aragon joined them with their troops. The two armies met,

1 Chejne (1980:84).

at Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212. For the Christians it was a resounding victory; for the Moslems the defeat that signalled the decline of the Almohad empire. In time it was seen as the turning point of the Reconquest. The taifa kingdoms, which re-emerged after the battle, were on sufferance, and half a century later, Al-Andalus was confined to the Kingdom of Granada, which paid tribute to Castile.

1.2 The three communities

The three communities are chronologically: the Jewish, the Christian and the Moslem.

The Jewish community had visited in the Peninsula from time immemorial (1). Commercial links with the country are mentioned several times in the Bible. If their activities in remote antiquity had been centred on trade, it is probable that they diversified their interests when they arrived in greater numbers after the destruction of the second Temple. Their status and situation were at a low ebb on the eve of the invasion. The causes of their persecution are difficult to fathom from the scant sources. What emerges is that they were summoned to convert to Christianity, or else, in 616 AD (2). Codoñer suggests that beyond religious intolerance, all

- 1 Baer (1961:16): "The first Jews to settle in Spain were part of the ancient Diaspora which was dispersed throughout all corners of the Roman Empire."
- 2 Imammudin (1981:14): 90,000 converts. The figure indicates an important minority and is useful to contrast with numbers mentioned for the newcomers, Arabs and Berbers. First quoted in Juan Magno: Gothorum Suenumque Historia.

these punitive measures favoured the nobility (1). The latter were in constant struggle with the king who may have wanted to propitiate them at times and win them to his own point of view. Furthermore, Jews were losing their rights to property (2); in that rude society, land meant power. Furthermore, they had no patrons and nobody to protect them. Their relative wealth was tempting and they were caught in the struggle for power between the three contending parties: church, king and barons. It has been argued that under the circumstances, the Jewish community entered in contact and conspired with the inhabitants of North Africa who were at the time Jewish sympathizers (3). In which case, come C8, there would have been a precedent. This situation is also strangely similar to that of the Moriscos, ten centuries later. The process must be seen in stages. It is one thing for a small group to appeal for help and another for the addressee to provide some relief; a third for him to plan a massive invasion, and yet another for the aggrieved party to collaborate with the invader. When one is under duress, where does treason begin? Several waves of persecution followed to avenge the so-called betrayal, which afforded the added advantage of replenishing the king's finances (1). García Gómez thinks that the Jewish community did play a part at the time of the invasion (4), facilitating greatly the task of the newcomers. No one

1 Codoñer (1980:27, 30).

2 Baer (1961:I:21-22).

3 Atkinson (1960:43), "Berbers", Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971:vol.4:587).

4 García Gómez (1979), "Córdoba", Juan March Lectures, Madrid (unpublished).

will deny that they were in a very favourable position to serve as interpreters, in view of the linguistic proximity of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic.

It was only under Islam that the Christians lived as a community, that is, with a legal status and a body of laws that applied specifically to the social group as a whole and subsequently to its members. For the time being, the Christians were organized more loosely as societies, as for instance the Hispano-Romans, descendants of the original inhabitants with their dialects and Christianity faithful to Rome, and the Goths of which the Visigoths were a subgroup. They had recently settled in Spain (Hispania) and practised a different form of Christianity (Arianism). In the reign of Leovigild, the two societies came together (1) and his son Reccared achieved religious unity by his conversion to the Church of Rome. Leovigild also introduced a reform of the administration, whereby he divided the kingdom into regions (territorium) delegating power to a civil governor under the orders of a the military governor (dux provinciae). If one takes into account that the nobility maintained clients and mercenaries, one can say that when the dux provinciae takes over the functions of the civil administrator as from 654, the feudal system is more or less in place, and the power of this nobility almost without limits. The aristocracy and the Church owned vast estates (2) with a great number of slaves working on them (3). They formed the

- 1 Codoñer (1980:18) gives 200,000 as the approximate number of the Visigoths in 568 AD.
- 2 i.e. the 3,000 villages of Wittiza.
- 3 Imamuddin (1981:11), I de Las Cagigas (1953:16).

bulk of the population. Apart from them, there were freed bondsmen; some were craftsmen, others farmers. They lived precariously. With the sack of Rome, trade had slumped even though Byzantium had colonies in the south of the Peninsula. Cities, losing their main purpose as commercial centres, slowly degenerated. The farmers were in no better position. The incessant incursions took their toll on agriculture. More often than not these farmers, having won their freedom, were obliged to ask for protection on terms akin to slavery (1). Thus, when Tāriq and his army appeared in 711, only the privileged class had anything to lose. For the rest of the population, economic conditions could not be any worse. They remained passive in the circumstances. This explains to some extent how it was possible for a relatively small army to reach the Pyrenees and beyond within a few years, when it had taken two centuries for the Romans to pacify the Peninsula.

The Moslem army that landed near Gibraltar consisted of 7,000 soldiers, later increased to 12,000. The officers were mainly Arab and the troops overwhelmingly Berber (2). With the second expedition of 18,000, led by Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, by 714 there were some 30,000 troops, of which probably one-third were Arabs and the rest North African (3). If the Arabs were newcomers to the Peninsula, this was far from

1 Cf. encomendación campesina. Gil, I. (1972:104), Miscellanea Wisighotica in Codoñer (1980:34).

2 Dozy (1920:I:241): "Victory went to Taric and 12,000 Berbers."

3 Ibid., p.113: "Nearly all the descendants of the former Helpers took part in the fleet with which Muza crossed the straits." Also (1920:II:32-37).

being the case with Berbers. Close contacts existed under Carthage, the Romans recruited mercenaries from Tingitana (cf. Sertorius, Caesar); Byzantium had, at the time, outposts on either side of the Straits. Another fact worth mentioning, as Ribera pointed out (1), is that these troops soon took wives and female slaves from among the population. This led to an admixture of races from the onset.

Within a short period a new society came into being. The Jews and the Christians formed communities. They were granted a special status with freedom to practise their creeds as specified in the Koran. In exchange they were liable to a particular tax. The Jewish community benefited the most under the new regime (2). They ceased to be persecuted; they were useful as intermediaries and as administrators while the Moslem troops set out on one expedition after the other.

The Christians were soon known as the mozarabs (musta^Crab); they were organized under a governor (qūmis from comites) and a bishop (3). As for the Moslem community, it comprised the new converts. Members of the Royal Family had given the example; mixed marriages favoured conversion to Islam; others adopted the new faith for purely religious reasons. There

1 Ribera (1928:I:151).

2 Gayangos (1843:II:404). Note: "The Jews of Spain are known to have been restored to all their rights and privileges by the conqueror in reward for their services at the time of the invasion."

3 Circourt (1846:I:25): "at the time of the conquest, the Mozarabs kept unchanged the Visigothic administration." To the extent of recognizing two more "kings" after Wittiza, in Crónica mozarabe del ano 754, I. de las Cagigas (1953:17).

were, nevertheless, powerful incentives to become a Moslem. The slave acquired freedom; the freed no longer had to pay the special taxes that increased to intolerable levels in C9 (1). The general view is that the above categories represented an ample section of the population (2); Bulliet, however, sounds a cautionary note. He argues, for the years 719-767, for a slow rise from 8% to 10% of the population of Al-Andalus (3). Berbers and Arabs account for the rest. They ruled the country.

This gives, by 720 AD, the following (4):

40,000	Moslem newcomers	: a
40,000+	Jews	: b
x	number of Christians	
y	number of converts to Islam, where y is	
	6 to 10% of x-(a+b)	
<u>100%</u>	or total population	

If the total population is assumed to be of the order of 4,000,000 to 4,250,000, this would give in round figures:

40,000	Moslem newcomers
40,000+	Jews
3,600,000	Christians
<u>360,000</u>	converts to Islam
4,040,000+	

The above results are valid only to clarify the relative size of the communities and their order of importance. This order

- 1 Dozy (1920:II:49).
- 2 I. de las Cagigas (1953:17): "The first generation are referred to as musālīma, their descendants as muwalladūn, hence Muladies."
- 3 Bulliet (1979:124).
- 4 Moslem figures: Arabic authors.
Jewish figures extrapolated from Imamuddin (1981:14) and compared to Ashtor (1973:I:31) who quotes "40,000 as the number of Jews liable for poll tax in Alexandria at the time of Arab conquest, according to Arabic sources."
Christian figures by extrapolation. Mackay (1981:19): "In the tenth century the total population of Spain was about 7 million."

will change owing to political circumstances and a summary of the situation is given every hundred years. They should be referred to when reading section 1.3 of this chapter.

The C8 witnessed the acrimonious disputes between Qays and Kalb on the one hand, and the territorial quarrels that divided Berbers and Arabs on the other. After the arrival of the Syrians in 741, the sources rarely give any reliable figures. We know that ^CAbd ar-Raḥmān I settled Umayyad clients and recruited Berber mercenaries. Thus, it would seem that up to al-Ḥakam I (796) the proportion of Arab newcomers was more or less equal to that of the North Africans, with a slight numerical advantage to the latter. According to Bulliet (1), Moslem converts accounted for 15% of the population.

Little new is mentioned concerning the Jewish community. They had lost the importance they had at the time of the conquest and were replaced in administrative functions by Moslems (2), now more numerous than they. The Christians were decreasing in similar proportion to that of conversion to Islam, with the exception that as from 788, the Mozarabs had started to emigrate towards the north, in particular to the Astur (-Leonés) kingdom.

The close of C8 gives a slight change in the relative position of groups of speakers per community:

Christians are still the most numerous.
Moslems are the second largest community and
increasing (arrivals and conversion).
The Jewish community has undergone little change.

- 1 Bulliet (1979:124).
- 2 Vallvé (1978:85).

21

The C9 is the century of rebellions and popular risings, which affected the status and the numbers of the different social groups. The Arrabal mutiny (suburb of Cordoba) was the first. It involved the faqīh (Islamic jurists) and the Moslem converts, who criticized the dissolute life of the court, the increase in taxes - a very delicate point in Islamic Law - and thirdly made a common enough claim in the Islamic world: that worthy (pious) people should have access to responsible positions. The movement was crushed but it marked the way for Muladi unrest. This group turned to the Mozarabs. While each had its different grievances, they formed a loose opposition that was more "national" in character against the rulers from overseas. This explains how the Muladies even allied themselves under certain circumstances with the Christian kings (1).

More than any other, the rebellion of Ibn Ḥafsūn illustrates this new awareness of "them and us". Bulliet describes the phenomenon as anti-Muslim, parallel to other revolts in the east:

"It may therefore be considered the same type of revolt, reflecting the same kind of political pressures emanating directly from the perception that Islam was a permanent fact and a threat to the continued existence of the non-Muslim communities." (2)

What emerged from the synod, called by ^CAbd ar-Raḥmān II in an attempt to pacify the Mozarabs, was the awareness of a rift between the high clergy headed by Gómez (Recafredo?) (3)

- 1 Chejne (1980:31-32): "Similar rebellions instigated by Christians and supported by Muladies occurred in Merida in 868 and Badajoz..." (in particular, the rebellion in 884 of Ibn Marwān al-Djillīqi, who received help from Alfonso III).
- 2 Bulliet (1979:125).
- 3 Dozy (1920:II:127).

and the monastic group whose spokesman was Eulogio. Most of the bishops wished to maintain the status quo for as long as there was religious freedom. Eulogio resented the hostile environment of Cordoba and the mounting lack of respect shown to his kind by the Moslems. Eulogio's stance is an interesting one. It reveals that Christians were being derided for retaining a Christian way of life; in other words, the Mozarabs were losing social status and this, for Eulogio, was unacceptable. The rise in hostility is a clear indication of Moslem confidence as their numbers were catching up the Christian majority. The two tendencies which split the community into a large group who sought their place in a relatively tolerant Moslem society (the Bishops) and a minority who refused to assimilate, were irreconcilable. Eulogio and his followers would not rest, and the relationship between the governing authorities and the Christians became very strained. What with closing of churches in 852, the arresting of priests, the dismissal of Christian officials and the pressure on all to convert, the majority did (1). Nevertheless a great many emigrated north and settled in the kingdom of Leon (2).

- 1 Dozy (1920:II:148), Eulogio Memoriale Sanctorum l.11c16. One might query which majority - the majority of Mozarab community of Cordoba or the majority of the Christians in Al-Andalus. To all accounts it was a large number. The first reading seems more probable if one considers that whole townships of Christians were massacred in reducing... Ibn Ḥafṣūn.
- 2 Ashtor (1973:I:113-14): "They wanted to settle those areas in their kingdom that had been vacated...by the Moslems. They therefore encouraged their coreligionists in the Moslem part of the peninsula to come and settle in the unpopulated cities and villages. Thus the population within the Christian region was increased, especially the Mozarabs, who brought to the north... a cultural level which was far superior to that of the Christians."

At the end of C9, the Moslem community comprised Arabs and Berbers in a similar proportion to that of the beginning of the century. What had increased was the number of Saqāliba (Central European slaves) and converts (Muladies). They accounted for 35% of the population, if we follow Bulliet (1). This gives:

A Moslem majority.

The Mozarabs become the second largest community, their number probably diminished by 50% in the course of the century.

A Jewish community increasing moderately with new arrivals.

Then came for Al-Andalus a century of reconstruction and further expansion of the centralized administration (Madīna az-Zahra) and military expeditions against the Christian north towards the end of the century. In this context, the Jewish community could not but prosper. As Baer explains:

"In reality the treatment accorded to Jews by several states varied according to their political structures. In a republic headed by aristocratic families, there was no room for Jewish statesmen [i.e. Cordoba, at the time of the fitna-C11]. On the other hand the monarch [i.e. 'Abd ar-Rahmān III)...the absolute ruler over an unfriendly native population [i.e. kings of Granada] would attract to his service Jews - the perpetual 'aliens' - on whose loyal support he could count in securing his regime." (2)

However only a few distinguished members of the community could serve in that capacity, usually under the guise of court physicians. The Sefarad community was arguably the

1 Bulliet (1979:124).

2 Baer (1961:I:32). The parentheses are mine. The last instance illustrates the fatal circumstances that can erupt into Jewish massacres. When the latter are identified as instruments of tyranny by the majority, in a situation where the tyrant is beyond their reach, the Jews, as it were, become a substitute for the absent tyrant.

most diversified in the Diaspora. The élite consisted of the leading jurists and scholars, wealthy merchants who traded on a grand scale spices, silks, slaves, manuscripts and other luxury articles between East and West, and the select minority of courtiers on whom the community depended for its wellbeing. Then came the craftsmen who worked preferably with gold and silver, leather and dyes. Accession to property, through the breaking up of large estates in Al-Andalus and through resettlement in Christian lands, was a significant departure from the normal activities of Jewish communities elsewhere. Property conferred status and wealth. Therefore, it can be said that the Jews in Spain were in no way different, in that respect, from Moslem or Christian landlords (1). In fact, discrimination may be assessed in the amount of restrictive measures limiting property ownership. Al-Andalus retained the largest community aside from Babylonia (2) with a substantial increase in the number of newcomers. The period coincided with chaotic times in the Middle East, with the decline of the Abbāsid Empire and the resurgence of Byzantium in Syria. Jews from Iraq and Syria flowed to Egypt only to find civil strife and later severe draught which ruined the economy. It is reasonable to assume that many were drawn to Spain.

1 Baer (1961:I:44): "Both Latin and Hebrew documents of the tenth century and later speak of Jewish holdings of land round the city (Leon). The earliest laws of the Kingdom (1017-1020) provide that if a free tenant wished to sell a house he had built on land owned by someone else the property is to be assessed...by two Christians and two Jews."

2 Ashtor (1973:I:152).

Meanwhile, new aljamas came into existence in Christian lands. Besides the longstanding Barcelona community, appeared the aljamas of Leon and those of Castile. The responsa (legal opinions) of contemporary rabbis confirm the existence of these communities and in the collection edited by Müller,

"the questions concerning matters of trade are few, their number insignificant compared to the many questions dealing with land." (1)

After the Ibn Ḥafṣūn rebellion, the Mozarabs retrieved security and relative freedom to practise their faith. They still formed the second largest community. Many found their way into the army. The caliph in his policy to delegate power to suitable members of all ethnic groups appointed Christians, too, i.e. Ḥamdūn Ibn Basil, governor of Ecija; Qand, governor of Toledo in 947 AD. This state of affairs lasted until the fitna in 1009 (2).

The Moslem community continued on its upward trend, converts represented 65% of society (3). There were also the massive arrivals of Berber contingents, which were disrupting the social balance of Al-Andalus with the first signs of friction between them and the rest of the population. When the C11 begins, the proportions are as follows:

The Moslem majority is increasing.

The Christians are more or less stable after the events of C9.

The Jewish community had possibly doubled and was catching up with the Christian group.

1 Ashtor (1973:I:271), T'shubhōt g'ōnē mizrah u-ma'arabh, Müller, J. (1888), Berlin.

2 Cf. Ibn ^CIdāri.

3 Bulliet (1979:124).

The fitna brought about more than twenty years of civil disorder. Cordoba was ransacked and most of its inhabitants left. The choice of a new town to live in would depend as much on the aljama as on the financial possibilities. Seville acquired a new importance but it was governed by the Arab aristocracy. Jews and Christians were wary of settling there and would only go if the financial rewards were tempting enough. Contemporary writers tell of a general state of wandering from place to place, looking for congenial surroundings and a means of subsistence (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Samuel Ha-Levi Ibn Nagrīla).

If some Jews went to Leon, Burgos, Pamplona, Saragossa and Barcelona, the majority remained in the south, settling around Lucena, Elvira (Granada), Malaga and Almeria. The two first were completely Jewish towns - religious centres living off the land; the two latter were seaports, where craft and trade activities were uppermost. As time went by, there were Jewish communities in all the towns of the Peninsula. In the second half of the century Granada, then Toledo, were the poles of attraction on either side of the "frontier"; they became the two most powerful aljamas.

As previously, during the Caliphate,

"Jews rose to positions of eminence and influence with the taifa and the Christian princes [but] the fate of the Jewish communities was closely bound up with the political fortunes of the Jewish courtiers." (1)

- 1 Baer (1961:I:31). The parenthesis is mine. Also Gayangos (1843:II:Ap.p.xxviii): "In the meantime the affairs of the Moslems were administered by Jews who fed on them...and who filled even the offices of Wizír, Hájib and Kátib, reserved in former days for the most illustrious individuals in the state." (c.1074)

In the case of Granada, the Nagrīlas had made too many enemies in the ruling class, coupled with the hatred of the masses for Jewish tax farmers, in paria circumstances. The sudden fall of Joseph Ibn Nagrīla sparked off the massacre of the Jewish community in 1066.

As for the Mozarabic community of Cordoba, it emigrated for the most part to Toledo, while a smaller group went to the coastal regions under the rule of the Saqāliba (1). This explains the unusual size of the Christian community, when the town surrendered to Alfonso VI. There were also Christians in rural areas, in villages, in small towns. Much less is known about them. Mention is made of them in texts such as the autobiography of king ʿAbd Allāh (2) and on several occasions the Christian kings returned north with a considerable number to resettle them in newly conquered territories (3).

Within the Moslem community, the number of Arabs was more or less stable. Berbers and converts were still rapidly increasing. This last group formed more than 80% of the population. The importance of this figure shows how small the non-Moslem groups were at the time of the Almoravid invasion and if Jewish aljamas were thriving, then the Mozarab communities must have been insignificant.

The Berber invasions brought about undeniable changes

- 1 Ide las Cagigas (1948:II:406).
- 2 King ʿAbd Allāh in García Gómez (1980:188): "I evacuated for him the forts of Riana and Jotrón of their Christian inhabitants."
- 3 i.e. Alfonso of Portugal came away with 10,000 of them. Also Circourt (1846:I:59): "The Mozarabs formed a sizeable proportion in reconquered lands, their help was an important factor in the successful [campaigns] of the Christian armies."

in the Andalusian way of life. The country was ruled by governors that could be replaced unexpectedly and the caliphs themselves made the rare visit from time to time. Religion was an ever-present factor. Non-Moslem officials were dismissed as it was considered improper for them to hold positions of power over the Faithful. Tension between the local population and the Almoravides mounted for, after all, they were uncouth and insensitive to Spanish Moslem demands. The Jewish community, although plundered many times, suffered most from the economic decline triggered off by the disappearance of the taifa states (1). Thus, migration to Christian lands, from a trickle which never stopped, increased in volume. The Christians fared worse; one can read the details of restrictions imposed on them in Ibn ʿAbdūn (2).

"It is forbidden for Frankish [Christian] women to enter churches on ordinary days."

"Clergy should be circumcized as they were forced to be by al-Muʿtadid ʿAbbād."

"The use of bells must be banned from Moslem lands."

"Science treatises must not be sold to Jews or Christians, unless they refer to their law. Indeed they translate these works and claim they were written by their own people, when they are from Moslem authors."

Wine was banned, except in Triana, the Christian district on the other side of the Guadalquivir. Hence a series of regulations severely controlling ferrying between Seville and Triana. As Atkinson explains:

1 "I remain in Granada, a city of declining bustle and splendour, like a stranger in the land." Moses Ibn Ezra, in Baer (1961:I:60).

2 Trad. Lévi-Provençal (1947:109, 123, 129).

"The Jews were able to buy off persecution; the Mozarabs could not and large numbers suffered exile to Africa while all who could, fled to the North." (1)

The Moslem community had not substantially changed in the years 1086 to 1147. Conversion figures worked out by Bulliet affect 90% of the population (2).

The Almohades considered themselves more orthodox than the ascetic Almoravides and strove to execute to their ultimate consequences the measures that had been taken to cope with the non-Moslem minorities. If it was a religious issue, and it undoubtedly was, it had political implications. For these minorities were unreliable. They were often in contact with the enemy when not actually conspiring with them. The departure of the "14,000?" Mozarabs under the protection of Alfonso I of Aragon's army had left a profound impression. Christians and Jews had to be neutralized. The Jews and the Christians were told to convert to Islam. Those who did not were killed or driven out. Of the Jews, some left for North Africa and the East (3) and the rest of the uncompromising survivors escaped to Christendom (4). Of the Mozarabs, they were massacred (Niebla in 1154, Granada in 1156). Those who managed to flee made for Castile and in particular Toledo. By the late C12 very few members of either community survived in Al-Andalus apart from slaves, captives and foreign traders (5).

1 Atkinson (1960:54).

2 Bulliet (1979:124).

3 González Palencia (1945:72). Also cf. Maimonides.

4 Imamuddin (1981:45): "The Muwahhidūn (Almohades) drove the Jews into the arms of the Spanish Christians."

5 Ya'qub al-Mansūr boasted that there was not a church nor a synagogue left in his empire. This statement is confirmed by Marrakusī (1224) quoted by Torres Balbas (1954:172).

The ways of the Almohades were too much for some Spanish Moslems and the ablest of them began to leave (Ibn^c Arabī, Sh-Shushtarī). Al-Andalus was no longer what it had always been, the crucible of several cultures.

The seizure of Toledo highlights a situation that had been occurring for some time on a smaller scale: what to do with the religious minorities of Jews and Moslems? Even the Mozarabs presented a problem. For although they were Christians, they were suspiciously like Moors (1).

At the beginning of the century, there had been a change of attitude. Previously prisoners were executed. They constituted too much of a risk at a time when armies were small, and there was no way of consolidating one's hold over an extended area far from base. This accounts for the empty no man's land along the "frontier". When the northern kings eventually conquered these territories, they needed people to settle in them and produce revenue. Gradually they spared Moorish communities and granted them "capitulations". The élite left either for Valencia or southern Spain. Those who stayed were the poorer classes, craftsmen and peasants: Moros vasallos o Mudejares. The Moslem society was decapitated, as it were. Thus the two religious minorities that began a new life under a Christian ruler under similar conditions, started to diverge. Jewish culture

1 Menéndez y Pelayo in González Palencia (1945:72): "It is worth noting that two centuries after the conquest of Toledo, Christians should use Arabic for their transactions, donations, wills and have two names simultaneously, one Arabic the other Latin."

flourished; by comparison practically nothing is known of the life and ways of the Mudejares. Their end was different, too, the latter survived in Spain for as long as their usefulness outweighed the menace they represented, some 120 years beyond the deportation of the Jews.

In the case of Toledo, the "capitulation" agreements were broken by the Crown, as previously related, and the pressure on the Moslems was such that within two generations they had lost the ownership of their land (1). Similar population movements were observed when Alfonso I of Aragon took Saragossa in 1118. He gave the Moors one year to evacuate the city. Many took the opportunity to leave "ad terras de moros" (2) and in 1129 such emigration had to be banned. Conditions of settlement were far more favourable in the kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre. The Fuero (charter) of Daroca of 1142 guarantees equal treatment for these communities. The Saragossa documents analysed in a later section confirm that Moslems owned property at least until C13 and possibly until the late C15 (3). As Lacarra says:

"And what is more, in the twelfth century, it was difficult for him to find another Moslem labourer who would know the irrigation farming techniques. The lack of manpower explains the owner's interest in keeping his labourers and the mobility of the latter who in the twelfth century, could offer their services to the highest bidder." (4)

1 See Doc. 8 in 7.3.3.3.

2 Docs. 62-63, "Documentos par el estudio de la Reconquista y repoblacion del valle del Ebro", Lacarra (1946-52), quoted in Lianzu (1962:185), "writers, courtiers, administrators, craftsmen and shopkeepers left for Valencia".

3 See 7.3.3.1.

4 Lacarra (1981:23).

What sort of life did Jews have when they reached Christian lands? Perhaps half the population settled in rural areas. They owned property in Leon, Toledo, Aragon and Catalonia and their rights were those of Christians. The rest were traders or urban dwellers. These lived as they had done under Moslem rule. Some were scholars, others were craftsmen and a few were courtiers, that is in the service of the prince, managing the royal estates, collecting taxes and lending money. But there were signs of oncoming change:

"Even in Spain, beginning with the thirteenth century, there were forces which tended to restrict the economic activities of the Jews. As the Spanish Kings began to copy the policies of the Kings of France and England towards the Jews, the Spanish Jews started to approach sociologically speaking the German Jewish type." (1)

The Mozarabs were the great losers. They had no alternative but to adopt the style and values of the northern Christians. Within two centuries one loses track of them. Many had emigrated to the Astur-Leonés kingdom in C9, subsequent arrivals were settled in the Avila and Talavera regions. The majority were to be found in Toledo where they were outmanoeuvred by the French and Castilian factions. By C14, they had lost their lands and town property. They never recovered from the liturgical reform which out-dated all their literary past, and their bishops were overruled by the all-powerful French archbishop of Toledo. In Aragon they were treated with greater consideration by Alfonso I, yet they left little or no trace of themselves in written documents.

1 Baer (1961:84-85).

1.3 The language situation

BEFORE THE INVASION

	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u>
The Jews (1)	wrote	wrote spoke	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	<u>some</u> wrote?	spoke
The Christians	-	-	-	wrote	spoke

The status of the languages depended on their function in the system (2).

Hebrew was the sacred language. Aramaic was the common standard or koiné for Jewish communities everywhere. Arabic was the koiné for a minority of Jews with trade links with the Middle East. Vernacular was the common form of speech of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. Latin was the koiné of Western Europe.

711 AD Al-Andalus

	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Berber</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u>
The Jews	wrote	wrote spoke	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	-	<u>some</u> wrote?	spoke
The Christians	-	-	-	-	wrote	spoke
The Moslems						
Arabs	-	<u>some</u> spoke?	wrote spoke	<u>some</u> spoke?	-	-
Berbers (3)	?	?	<u>some</u> wrote? spoke	spoke	-	-

- 1 Listing follows the chronological order discussed in 1.2. Please refer to relative proportions of speakers per community to complete the information given in the above tables. Non-underlined words express the norm.
- 2 See Chapter Five. Written languages are prestige languages.
- 3 According to Ibn Khaldūn, there was a large number of Jewish Berbers at the time of the Arab conquest of Africa. Did some of them know Hebrew or Aramaic? Did some Jews learn Berber? Since they submitted to Islam, in the reign of Idris I (788-793), what language was spoken between them and the Jews of Al-Andalus?

C8

	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Berber</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u>
The Jews	wrote	wrote spoke	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	-	+ (3) +	spoke
The Christians	-	-	+ <u>some</u> wrote + spoke	-	+ <u>some</u> wrote	spoke
The Moslems						
Arabs	-		wrote (1) spoke	<u>some</u> spoke?	-	+ <u>some</u> spoke (4)
Berbers	+ -	+ -	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	spoke		+ <u>some</u> spoke?
Converts (2)			+ <u>some</u> wrote + spoke	-		spoke

- 1 Arabic was and is the sacred language of the Moslem community. As it cannot change on account of its status. The gap between the written form and the spoken varieties increases at a faster rate than in the more common situation of prestige language to vernacular. However Arabic was also the koine for a rising number of Jews.
- 2 Converts to Islam from Christian or Jewish stock would adopt a new identity. They would break their ties with their former communities and cease to use the languages they had spoken or written until then. Conversion meant joining a new community, learning Koranic Arabic and the Arabic spoken varieties.
- 3 + : indicates changes.
- 4 It is understandable that the invaders took wives and concubines from the native population. Many female slaves were purchased continuously throughout the period under study. It is unlikely that these women immediately learned Arabic. Therefore their masters must have acquired some knowledge of Latin vernacular to converse with them. Ribera (1928:I:10) and Guichard (1976:150) support this view and add that young children must have been exposed to it in the female quarters.

<u>C9</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Berber</u> (3)	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u> (4)
The Jews	wrote	<u>some</u> wrote (2) spoke	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	-	+ - (1)	spoke
The Christians	-	-	+ wrote + spoke	-	<u>some</u> wrote	spoke
The Moslems						
Arabs	-	-	wrote spoke	+ -	-	<u>some</u> spoke
Berbers	-	-	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	spoke		some spoke?
Converts			+ wrote + spoke	-		spoke

- 1 + indicates changes; non-underlined words express the norm.
- 2 c.850 AD Gaon Naṭronai bar Hilai writes the first responsa (legal opinions) in Arabic. We may take it that the use of Aramaic is declining in Spain. Although 3 of the Spanish documents (C11) of the Genizah are Hebrew/Aramaic (Ashtor 1964:40).
- 3 Berber represents a bundle of dialects.
- 4 For a definition of vernacular, see Chapter 8.

<u>C10</u>	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Aramaic</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Berber</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Vernacular</u>
The Jews	wrote	+ <u>some</u> wrote? ¹ + <u>some</u> spoke?	+ wrote + spoke	-	-	spoke
The Christians	-	-	wrote spoke	-	+ <u>some</u> wrote? ³	spoke
The Moslems						
Arabs	-	-	wrote spoke	-	-	+ <u>some</u> spoke? ²
Berbers	-	-	<u>some</u> wrote spoke	spoke		some spoke?
Converts	-	-	wrote spoke	-		spoke

- 1 Arabic is used for Talmudic exegesis and science. Newman (1948:II:98).
- 2 The degree of bilingualism is difficult to assess. On the one hand, Romance borrowing in poetry must be accounted for, and on the other one sees Ḥasdai Ibn Shaprut serving as interpreter with King Sancho and John of Görtz. Had the court been bilingual, his services would not have been required. Could it be a "class" phenomenon? That is, true for the masses, and less so for the aristocracy. Then the "mixed marriages" argument becomes largely invalid, because such matches did occur between the royal families on either side of the border; besides the richer one was, the more slaves one would own. I refer the reader to contemporary accounts in C11 and C12. Further discussion in 7.2.
- 3 "During the Caliphate the Arabic koiné gains ground, while Mozarabic authors write of the inexorable decline of their culture (Latin)." Marcos Marín (1981:109).

C11 Al-Andalus

	Hebrew	Aramaic	Arabic	Berber	Latin	Vernacular
The Jews	+ <u>some</u> wrote ³	+ <u>some</u> wrote?	wrote ⁴ spoke	-	-	+ <u>some</u> spoke ³
The Christians	-	-	wrote spoke	-	+ 1	spoke ²
The Moslems						
Arabs	-	-	wrote ⁴ spoke ⁵	-	-	some spoke?
Berbers	-	-	wrote spoke	spoke	-	+ -
Converts	-	-	wrote spoke	-	-	spoke

- 1 + indicates changes; non-underlined words express the norm.
- 2 Ibn Sīda (d.1066) "How can I fail to make them (mistakes in Arabic) when I have to live with people who speak 'Aḡamī?' Ribera (1928:I:Notellio).
- 3 Ibn Gabirol "Nobody knows Hebrew any longer, some speak as the Christians, the others as the Moslems." (Millás Vallicrosa 1945:49). Rabbi Isaac Ibn Gayyat glosses Ecclesiastes in Arabic (Ashtor 1973:II:146).
- 4 Up to the present century, written Arabic had been "Classical" Arabic, Andalusian poetry breaks the interdict with compositions in the spoken varieties of Arabic. Judeo-Arabic, that Arabic written by Jews and used as a koiné, therefore divergent from "Classical" standard makes its appearance in the Genizah documents from the Iberian Peninsula (Ashtor 1964:40).
- 5 Ibn Ḥazm (d.1064) mentions the Banū Bali, a tribe north of Cordoba, for speaking unusually good Arabic (7.2). The implication is that town people do not.

1100 to 1212 Al-Andalus

	Hebrew	Aramaic	Arabic	Berber	Latin	Vernacular
The Jews	<u>some</u> wrote ¹	+ -	wrote spoke	-	-	<u>some</u> spoke ²
The Christians	-	-	+ <u>some</u> wrote spoke	-	-	+ <u>some</u> spoke
The Moslems						
Arabs	-	-	wrote spoke ³	-	-	<u>some</u> spoke?
Berbers	-	-	<u>some</u> wrote ⁴ spoke	spoke	-	
Converts	-	-	wrote spoke	-	-	+ <u>some</u> spoke

- 1 Hebrew revival after Almohades rule. Toledo docs.
- 2 "The employment of this dialect in the Kharjas of the Hebrew poets was rendered easier by the fact that the Jewish population made everyday use of the Mozarabic of its Muslim and Christian neighbours." Stern (1974:151) The comparison is with Islamic poetry and the appropriateness of Romance borrowing. Here the implication is that Moslems are not as familiar with Mozarabic, which confirms our findings, but we would add that the Christian population is small (cf. deportation to North Africa) and less than the Jewish population. Ibn Bassām in Ḍakhīra complains of the foreign jargon which is spoken in Cordoba (c.1101), García Gómez (1950:8).
- 3 Idrīsī refers to the exceptionally high standard of Arabic found in the inhabitants of Silves (Faro district of Portugal), Dozy, Goeje (1866:217). Also in García Domingues (1945:44;5) facsimile.
- 4 The Berber invaders could not compare in culture to their long-settled cousins. (García Gómez 1976:81-end).

CHRISTENDOM 1085 to 1212

	<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Romance</u>
The Jews	wrote(1)	wrote (2) spoke	(3)	(4) spoke
The Christians	-	<u>some</u> wrote <u>some</u> spoke(5)	wrote	wrote(7) spoke
The Moslems (Moors)	-	wrote(6) spoke		

- 1 Hebrew revivd1.
- 2 The Jews served as translators to the Christian kings.
- 3 A passive understanding of Latin was essential to survival. They avoided writing it, using Arabic as the alternative, even Arabic written in Hebrew script. Toledo documents, Millás Vallicrosa in González Palencia (1931).
- 4 Catalan, Gallego-Portuguese, Leonese Castilian, Navarrese, Aragonese. The Jews and Christians spoke the dominant dialect of the region. Basque should be included as a regional non-Romance oral variety.
- 5 Toledo documents. González Palencia (1931). See 7.3.3.3.
- 6 Nuestra Señora del Pilar documents. García de Linares (1904). See 7.3.3.1.
- 7 First documents in Romance (e.g. Chapter 8, Toledo 1206).

CHAPTER TWO: 1212 AD - A TURNING POINT

2.1 The political situation: a summary

The Christian victory of Las Navas de Tolosa affected the Christian-Moslem balance of power in more than one way. It put paid to the Almohad ambitions and hastened their decline. They had crossed the Straits with an enormous army which had required complex logistic operations and no less important expenses. Their defeat had been ruinous in lives and equipment. Possibly this factor more than any other "protected" Spain from Moslem invasions. With the exception of the battle of the Salado river (1340), later attempts were half-hearted affairs (1). On the Christian side, it was clear that the concerted efforts of the northern kings had brought about this victory and the experience was repeated, albeit less ceremoniously, but with the participation of important contingents of knights from the various kingdoms in the re-conquest of southern Spain. Hence, Las Navas was to begin a period of expansion for Aragon, Castile and Portugal. Navarre was the great loser. It had no common frontier with Islam and was outflanked by its powerful neighbours, Aragon and Castile.

Ferdinand III of Castile was the first on the move. He planned a series of campaigns in 1214 in the Extremadura region. War was a means of neutralizing the stiff opposition of the Leon nobility to the annexation of their kingdom to the Crown of Castile. These campaigns brought together the

1 Cf. Huici Miranda (1952), Al-hulal al-mawṣiyya.

aristocracy of both states, reduced their differences and softened their grievances. There was another powerful reason, an economic one. Extremadura offered excellent pasture land to the increasing flocks of merino sheep that had become an important source of wealth for the Castilian landowners. Henceforth, great flocks would cross periodically the length and breadth of the central table lands gradually excluding any other competing agricultural activity. This trend would separate Castile from the balanced economies of the other European countries and pave the way for its future decline. After Badajoz, Cordoba fell in 1236.

Meanwhile, Catalan interests had suffered a succession of setbacks in southern France and Italy as a result of Papal diplomacy. Aragon and the Barcelona merchants found the prospect of seizing the Balearic Islands and Valencia an attractive proposition. The islands provided excellent harbour facilities for western Mediterranean trade between Europe and North Africa. Whereas ^{for the nobility} Valencia had been ever since the Cid, the golden city. The flourishing agriculture of its plain acted like a magnet on their ambitions. Majorca was taken in 1229, the other islands followed suit and Valencia reoccupied in 1248. Neither did Portugal lag behind. The king of Castile and his armies were too close for comfort. The Portuguese pushed southwards too and established their rule in Alemtejo and Algarve, achieving thus their territorial unity. Castile finally accepted the fact in 1267 when she gave up all claim to southern Portugal. For Portugal the reconquest was over, the country was free to turn its energies elsewhere. This was a decided advantage compared to Castile. She was only to reach this stage more than two centuries later.

In 1243, Ferdinand III launched a second wave of expeditions against the taifa that had re-emerged as local leaders replacing the Almohad governors. The result was that some towns accepted to pay tribute (paria) like Seville; others capitulated like Jaen. Its ruler Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr became an ally and even supplied troops in the seige of Seville. Seville was the capital of the south, one of the largest and richest cities of the Peninsula. A direct attack by Castile was almost unthinkable. Nevertheless, the frequent skirmishes in the region and the fall of Cordoba sapped the spirit of the inhabitants. Internal dissension aggravated the situation and when the tribute ceased to be paid on time, Ferdinand III advanced on the city (1). It surrendered in 1247. The effect was comparable to the capture of Toledo.

It became obvious to the Spanish Moslems that it was only a question of time before Al-Andalus was lost to Islam. Seville had given shelter to large numbers retreating before the Christian onslaught. Now the turn had come for the inhabitants of Seville to up their roots. A certain number went to Granada; the majority, particularly the intellectual elite, left Spain definitely for North Africa and the East.

(2) Those who remained were settled in the countryside,

- 1 I. de las Cagigas (1951:32): "Ibn Khaldūn, at least, tells us that when the Christian king heard of the assassination of his friend and ally [Ibn al-Djadd] he was sorely vexed. He broke the agreement he had made with Ibn al-Djadd and ordered his troops to advance and take revenge."
- 2 Abdul Wahāb in Epalza & Petit (1973:16,24): "The flow [of Spanish Moslems] at first sluggish became a tidal wave after the fall of Seville to the Spaniards. The first refugees were from rich and sophisticated families, they settled in Tunis itself." "Ibn Khaldūn goes as far as to say that the greater part of the inhabitants of Tunis in Cl3 were Andalusian families that had emigrated from the East coast of Spain."

forming aljamas of Mudejares. Their number was far less than in Aragon and Valencia, where the kings maintained a policy of toleration towards them in spite of the restrictions that followed the great Mudejar uprising in 1264-1266.

Muhammad Ibn Naṣr having relinquished Jaen, gained hold of Granada in 1237. Thus he was able to help actively the rebel Mudejares who were put down with great difficulty. The lesson was never to be forgotten, the Mudejares (later the Moriscos) were a threat to Spain. There was, as yet, no regular policing force. Therefore it was easier to organize a rebellion than to muster an army. The rebellion enabled Muhammad to take his distances while his neighbours were hard put to restore peace to their newly conquered territories.

By 1266, the last bastion of Al-Andalus was the kingdom of Granada, the first ruler of the new Naṣri dynasty was Muhammad I who assumed the title of 'amīr al-mu'minīn, although nominally still a subject of the king of Castile. How the Moslem state survived another two centuries may be explained in part by the fact that the campaigns followed by the Mudejar rebellion had exhausted the economic resources of Castile, drained no less by the imperial ambitions of Alfonso X. While for the population of Granada, increased by a substantial number of fleeing Mudejares (1), this was their last chance of freedom in their homeland. Successive rulers sought to strengthen further their position through

1 Arié (1973:307): "The Mudejar Rebellion of 1264 in Murcia and the Valencian uprisings of 1258 and 1275 cancelled the efforts of the Christian Kings and caused a massive influx of Moslems in the Granadan Emirate."

diplomatic links with the Banū Marīn who governed Morocco at that time. These sent contingents, but the price was invariably too high. It seems that the Moroccan rulers remembered the disaster of Las Navas that had been fatal to their rivals the Almohades. Consequently, they were unwilling to risk their best efforts in any operation that did have prospects of immediate returns. The Andalusians, themselves, were more than suspicious of the intentions of their ally and often preferred to deal with the more predictable Christians who were always desperately short of funds. This tightrope walking lasted more or less until 1410, when the Castilians captured the strategic position of Antequera. From then on what had been a serious weakness in Granada's defence, namely family feuds, became the major cause of its downfall, at a time when Castile was strong enough to mount periodic attacks, nibbling here and there at stretches of Al-Andalus until the process culminated with the joint efforts of Castile and Aragon from 1484 to 1492.

2.2 The three communities

Towns had multiplied throughout the Peninsula and developed into important trade centres; they had become a force to be reckoned with by the end of C12. The king was often obliged to give in to their demands in his power struggle with Church and nobility which in turn restricted his own power. It took form in the Cortes or parliament. The whole period is marked by an intense effort to legislate and fix the place of each body politic as well as define the status of the individual in the system: e.g. Siete Partidas,

c.1260; Privilegio de la Unión, 1283. The legislation would completely transform Spanish society into the model before and the model after the passing of these documents. Interested parties resisted fiercely. In Castile, Siete Partidas only became binding in 1348. In Aragon, the process was completed by 1287. Underlying the trend, was the Crown's struggle for predominance in all political spheres. The nobility, caught between the king and towns, resented the king's increasing authority at their expense. The Church in its dual status - temporal and spiritual - was loath to have the king interfere in its jurisdiction. The towns had the dubious honour of providing the Crown with militias (1) and funds for the incessant campaigns; they bitterly opposed the loss of their traditional "freedoms" (fueros). These charters were now so numerous and varied that the legal system was chaotic and the time had come for reform. In Castile, the result was a centralized model of society where the king theoretically was all-powerful (2) and ruled by decree. The losers were the nobility, with a diminishing role in the Cortes, called at the king's wish. In Aragon, the king had to compromise (Cortes de Tarazona), sharing his power with the aristocracy and their judicial representative, the justicia (3) and the worthy burghers, i.e. Consell de Cent, with Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia retaining its own laws, i.e. Forum Valentinum 1248.

1 Mackay (1981:68).

2 Mackay (1981:113): "The acceptance of this great body of Law meant also the recognition of the absolute authority of the Crown over all subjects and the fueros."

3 Cf. 7.3.3, Docs 13, 15 Saragossa. Also Ribera (1897).

The Jewish community of Spain was up to 1390 the freest and possibly the largest in Europe; the greatest concentration was in Aragon and Catalonia. Jews pursued their traditional activities described in the previous chapter. Their translating effort in Toledo, that had largely brought about the intellectual revival that swept Europe in C13, and their services as interpreters between Christian landlord and Moorish subject, more especially in the settlement of the kingdom of Valencia, had come to an end. An urban community would consist of scholars, craftsmen and shopkeepers with a small minority of Crown servants, usually tax-farmers whose powers were as extensive as they were vague.

(1) In such positions they could mitigate crude attacks against the aljamas, until the king dispensed, often abruptly, with their services. Restrictions on property holding gradually narrowed down the possibilities of the more wealthy to banking and money lending. If one takes into account that C14 was a time of famine, plague and civil unrest and that money was consequently scarce, previous normal rates of interest would be hard to pay, any increase would appear exorbitant. The necessary elements for social conflagration were moving into place. There is the ^{sporadic} assault here and there on the calls (Jewish district) of Catalonia, coinciding with out-

- 1 Baer (1961:171): "For a few years [1280s] they [Jewish officials] exercised complete control over the country's [Catalonia-Aragon] economy and some branches of the military establishment." Also Canellas López (1971:101): "The first magistrate to be considered is the Baile Real; this governor general (chancellor) was in 1271 an important member of the Jewish community of Saragossa, by the name of Jahudano de la Caballería."

breaks of the plague. Some Jews were engaged in agricultural activities, judging by the number of new communities that came into existence in the resettled lands of the south (1).

Much less is known about them; of the cases tried by the Inquisition only a small proportion refers to them (2).

This silence may be accounted for in several ways:

(a) They left the countryside to live in urban surroundings as many inhabitants did after the Black Death (1350).

(b) They were killed, e.g. Ecija.

(c) They left for the towns after the massacre.

(d) They were of the number of those who left Spain.

From 1401 onwards, the pressure for the Jews to convert and adopt Spanish ways increased. One of the great differences that divided non-Christians from Christians in Castile was military service and upkeep. This was onerous and if the Mudejares were too insignificant for it to matter (besides they were a military risk), the Jews were seen as escaping from this duty. Furthermore, from the time when they were debarred from owning estates, the Jews resorted to professional activities - medicine, banking - which did not endear them to the poorer Christian classes who felt that these non-Christians were living at their expense, all the more so when the tax collectors were Jewish. When Royal patronage ceased, the aljamas were left without protection. This was the situation in 1390 when the massacres, which spread to almost every town, took place. The spark that set the aljamas

1 Baer (1961:311).

2 Kamen (1979:27).

aflame was religion, the sermons of one archdeacon Martínez in Eciija (3). Thousands were baptized, forming a new social group (los conversos). Many decided to emigrate; there was a steady flow, from then onwards, that went to form the first Sephardic communities in the East.

The campaigns of Ferdinand III and Jaime I opened up large expanses of new territory. Castile had acquired about a third again of its previous surface, Aragon one-fifth; this in turn was compensated by the wealth generating resources of Valencia. This situation affected all walks of life. In the case of Seville, land and urban estate was shared out between those who had participated in the events. The lion's share went to the nobility who received vast domains. The policy was to grant land to those who could defend it from an attack from North Africa or even Granada. As we mentioned before, the gathering of the host was a cumbersome and lengthy affair. The danger was real and these nobles maintained small armies of retainers as part of their service to the king. The error of such a course was soon to be patent. The ambitions of the aristocracy rose to new heights. They turned against the king and fought among themselves, creating a general state of instability that lasted until the last quarter of C15. Another effect of this land redistribution was the lack of diversification in the economy. Since wool was a commodity in rising demand, there was an unprecedented expansion in sheep-farming. Thus Seville, which had formerly been a manufacturing town, as Granada and

Malaga continued to be under Moslem rule, became an outlet for agricultural products (wool, oil and wine).

Faced with the same issue of reallocating the newly conquered land, Aragon avoided concentrating large estates into few hands. Taking Majorca as an example, it was shared out among those who had contributed to the military expedition, but land and houses were given in lots from different districts of the island. Yet the fundamental problem experienced in both kingdoms was finding enough labourers to work the land. Settlers came from as far away as France. They were only a trickle. Again the diverging policies of Castile and Aragon would have very different results. Whereas Aragon encouraged the Moors to stay, granting favourable charters (Fueros) (1), this was no longer the case in Castile after the rebellion of 1264. A large proportion of the Islamic population abandoned Lower Andalusia compared to the majority of Moslems who stayed in Aragon and Valencia under the new conditions. Lower Andalusia went from intensive farming to extensive farming practice with the subsequent loss of profitability, which in turn encouraged sheep-farming that did not require many hands. Apart from this change, the shift in the population attracted farmers from the north and countless serfs who had been toiling more or less like slaves. As a result the working conditions of the peasants improved in both kingdoms, in spite of the greater degree of control on their movements; some districts in the north lost their entire

1 i.e. Carta-puebla granted by Jaime I to the Moorish subjects of the valley of Uxó in 1250. Colección de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España, vol. XVIII. Also cf. Fernández y González.

population, more especially after the plague epidemics of the 1350s. The C13 and C14 witnessed therefore population movements (1) on a large scale affecting existing dialects, e.g. gradual loss of the distinction of /s/ and /z/ in Andalusian varieties, convergence of north Catalanian (Ampurdán) with the Majorcan dialect. There was a general drift southwards from Galicia, Asturias and Castile on the one hand, settling in Lower Andalusia and from Aragon and Catalonia on the other, taking up residence in Valencia and Levante, while the Moslem population of Andalusia either emigrated altogether or resettled around Granada and that of Valencia and Murcia following their example but in smaller numbers. Later movements caused by civil unrest (2) and epidemics were from the country to the urban centres. Finally an increasing number of Jewish families left the Peninsula for the East.

As yet, we have scant notice of the Moorish communities that stayed on in the kingdom of Castile . Their literary production up to C15 is a mystery. There are a few documents that refer to individuals from Talavera, Toledo, Guadalajara and Valladolid (3). The principal source of information are the edicts. Their main activity was agricultural. Nonetheless there were craftsmen in the small urban aljamas. Mention is made of the one in Seville, in the 1253 Royal Charter, removing toll charges for the Moslems domiciled in the town. Ibn Khaldūn visited the aljama during a mission to the court

- 1 See 7.3.3.3. Toledo doc. 628 (1266). Within a generation the family unit had spread from Toledo to La Mancha, Madrid and Seville.
- 2 Cf. Vilar (1980).
- 3 BNM, Instituto Miguel Asín, CSIC Madrid.

of Pedro I (1). Its insignificance was a bitter disappointment. Collantes de Terán suggests that the Mudejares of Seville were in fact in a privileged position on account of their valuable services in the shipyards and maintaining the royal palace (2). The Fatwa (legal opinion) on skins paints a more optimistic picture of the aljamas of North Castile (Cl5) depending spiritually on the Mufti of Burgos, Ibrahim Ibn ^CAlī Ruy Diaz, a contemporary of Içe de Gebir of Segovia. From the document it seems that the Mudejares of Avila dealt with pelts (3). In Toledo, some worked in the neighbouring fields and vineyards, others traded with Granada. In time there were restrictions on their movements; they were in the ideal position to supply intelligence to the enemy. Since Granada produced luxury goods (sugar, silks, spices), the commercial links were never completely severed. The 1412 decree of Valladolid concerning Jews and Moslems was dispatched to Seville, Cordoba and Jaen. These cities must have had relatively important communities of non-Christians in their midst. In this decree it is stipulated that non-Christians are to live exclusively in their respective quarters and may not have access to any official post. It is unlikely that these measures affected the Moorish communities very much; it represented little new, neither had any Moslem been seen in any public office for some time past and qādīs (Islamic judges) and courts had been "officially" suppressed in 1408 (possibly coinciding with the closure of Arabic schools) (4).

1 Cheddadi (1980).

2 Collantes de Terán (1978:154).

3 See 7.3.3.3. Doc. LXXIV.

4 In Circourt (1846:I:268). Note the further clause: "Any Moslem caught escaping to Granada will become a crown slave and his chattels will go to his captor."

The 1412 decree was to have far more consequence for the Jews, depriving many of them of a livelihood and forcing them to conversion.

Documents referring to the Moslem communities of Navarre and Aragon are relatively abundant, Valencia being a special case in the dominions of the latter. There is no reason to think that the activities and conditions in the aljamas of Navarre were very different from those further down the Ebro basin (1). On capitulation, they had been given one year to vacate the walled districts of the cities. Many inhabitants chose to leave "ad terras de moros" at that time until the authorities, alarmed, limited such movements. The intellectual élite left and most of the aristocratic families, except in the region south of Valencia (2). Those who remained behind, having lost their leaders, were able to restructure their community to a certain extent under the qādīs' guidance. The kings of Aragon granted them a series of privileges and upheld their newly acquired rights, e.g.:

- . To live by Islamic Law and teach the Koran (Carta-puebla Uxó 1250).
- . The Mudejares of Saragossa would be judged by Islamic Law in their conflicts with Crown officers (1259).
- . Moslems kept their weapons. The aljamas were duty bound to supply militias (3).

- 1 Compare Docs. Urzante, 1312 (Navarre) in 7.3.3.2 with Salilla 1312 (Aragon) in 8.3.
- 2 Abū Zayd, the Ra'is of Crevillente. Also Burns (1978:93).
- 3 Fernández y González (1866:269 note 1): "In August 1283 the King sent his alfaquim Don Samuel that he might chose from each aljama a company of crossbow-men and lancers instructed and armed..."

Their main activity was farming (1) and architecture. Numerous churches were built by them, the cathedral of La Seo of Saragossa, to give one outstanding example. Another difference with Castile was that the great land-owners whose revenues derived from the Mudejares played an active role in parliament and were able to protect their subjects from restrictive policies. Owing to religious pressure, the first serious measures were introduced in Cl4:

1318: The call to prayer was forbidden (2).

1382-1408: The Cortes (Parliament) refused to allow emigration.

Nevertheless the aljamas retained their qādīs and headmen until Cl6. Circourt makes the judicious remark that the early Cl5 Castilian decrees coincided with a revival of border expeditions between Granada and Castile (3). The aristocracy of the time dreamt of surpassing the heroic deeds of their ancestors, on the one hand, and regaining thereby a greater degree of autonomy from the crown, on the other. In this atmosphere, any Moslem, Mudejar or slave, was seen as a potential enemy (4). In Aragon the reconquest was no longer an issue, such identification with the enemy did not exist; on the contrary, the special relationship that held between landlord and Moorish subject was to have dire consequences for the Moslem communities in Cl6 popular risings (Germanías).

1469 saw the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand

- 1 See Saragossa docs. in Chapter Seven and appendices.
- 2 Barceló Torres (1980:88, 148).
- 3 Slave raids and piracy left their toll. Cf. Vilar (1980).
- 4 Circourt (1846:I:271-272).

II of Aragon. Both became sovereigns of their respective kingdoms after an arduous and prolonged struggle. Castile was in a state of chaos; Aragon-Catalonia was slowly recovering from a deep economic depression. The two countries were in desperate need of stability and reform. Isabella set to the task as soon as her claim to the throne went unchallenged, having reduced with the help of her husband the opposition represented by Juana, the daughter of Enrique IV, backed by Portugal. A supreme council was created to deal with affairs related to Ferdinand's territories, by-passing the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia. Officials (Corregidores) were dispatched to sit on city councils and voice the opinion of the Crown. Law courts were established in major provincial towns to expedite the course of justice, that had suddenly become far more complex. In order to carry out these reforms, Isabella relied more and more on jurists trained in the Spanish universities and less and less on the nobility. The new "civil servants" soon formed a social class that defended their privileges "tooth and nail". As a body they became very powerful. Royal control was slight. They preyed mercilessly on all who required their services and more especially on the Moriscos (1). Internal peace was consolidated with the formation of a policing force, the Santa Hermandad. Personal safety on the roads improved enormously. The queen turned her attention to two outstanding issues: Granada and religious minorities. The former was left in the early stages to the organizing skills of Ferdinand II who mustered the host, supervised engineering works, acquired ammunition and

1 Cf. Chronicles of the wars of Granada.

artillery and led punitive expeditions along the coast. As for the latter, the conversos had been the cause of incidents throughout Castile (1). Following the massacres of the 1390s, large numbers of Jews had become Catholic, some to save their lives, others to practise their skills, yet others because they could not face going into exile. Their change of religion made them suddenly eligible for public office for which they had eminently the necessary qualifications. With their new status they entered the Church and the nobility through marriage (2). It was not long before the three estates grew alarmed. The aristocracy felt it was losing its identity, its long-standing traditions. The Church began questioning whether these recently converted members of the clergy were in fact sincere, probably as part of a wider trend that was sweeping through the Church in Spain, towards higher moral standards. This accounts for the political dominance of the monastic orders over the secular clergy. The commoners were offended by the cynical or distant attitudes of the converts, which contrasted with their own emotional but deeply-felt religious convictions. Hypocrisy, or the practising of Judaism in private, was abhorrent. Their resentment increased to the point of violence, for the conversos took up all their old occupations - banking, administration of public monies and tax-collections - which had been a decisive factor in the 1390s massacres. What was intolerable to the masses was that these people should have

1 Kamen (1979:32), Toledo 1449, 1467; Valladolid 1470; Cordoba 1473.

2 Libro verde de Aragón (1885), ed. Amador de los Ríos, Revista de España CV.

entry to the higher ranks of society that weighed so heavily upon the poorer classes. The queen, with the consent of the pope, set up a special commission to investigate certain incidents in Seville, in 1478. The commission was known as the Holy Office (or the Inquisition). The brief was to examine any deviation from religious orthodoxy. No one was too highly placed to avoid its enquiries. Archbishops, saints, professors, statesmen, all were required to justify themselves before the secret tribunal. It exceeded in its results the wildest expectations of the queen in her efforts to strengthen cohesion within the emerging nation. It held Spanish society in its iron grip. The Inquisition had indeed defused the social unrest!

With the fall of Granada and the end of military action, the remaining Jews, who refused to convert, were told to leave Spain within four months. They constituted the second wave of people expelled in their hundreds of thousands (1) (the first one had been that of the Moslems of Lower Andalusia in 1264, although it was long forgotten). The departure of the Jews stuck in the memory of people as a precedent for deporting the Moriscos.

It is self-evident that Granada offered an amazing contrast with the rest of the Peninsula. Let us review some of these differences: Travellers from East and West comment on

1 Roth (1960:238): "The number of persons affected was probably about 150,000, although both contemporary chroniclers and subsequent historians exaggerated it to a fantastic degree. Thus, in the greatest disaster of the Jewish Middle Ages, the oldest and most vital community of western Europe was finally uprooted." Kamen (1979:33) argues for a maximum of 400,000.

the teeming population observed everywhere. This population consisted of Arab families (1), long-standing Berbers, the influx of emigrants and fleeing Mudejares, Black and Berber mercenary troops, renegade Christian soldiers, exiled Christian nobles, Moslem foreigners (e.g. Sufi communities), Jews, Italian traders and, compared to Spain, a large number of slaves (Negroes, Christian war-captives, victims of piracy and so on).

. Granada was prosperous.

Not only did it pay a tribute in gold to Castile, but it was able to buy off peace or a more favourable diplomacy by donating large sums to high-placed court officials. This density of population was therefore not a drain on the country's resources; on the contrary, the inhabitants were determined to stay at all costs in Al-Andalus rather than emigrate overseas. On these terms they had to be industrious. Agriculture was intensive and sophisticated in its irrigation techniques, water distribution was determined by contracts (1), terraced fields were built high up on the mountainsides (1). Even then it could not meet the requirements of so many people; it specialized and was able to provide a surplus of exotic products (sugar, dried fruit, saffron) for export, while wheat and oil had to be purchased abroad.

. Granada produced a wide variety of highly appreciated manufactured goods (brocades, leather goods, jewelry, damascene arms, ceramics and above all silken materials). It was a trade centre also for spices and slaves. This explains how

1 See 7.3.1 Cenete docs.

this small state was able to pay the tribute, afford mercenaries, build palaces and maintain a series of fortifications along its borders to the amazement and admiration of contemporary travellers. It is significant that the expeditions that preceded the seige of the capital carried out a relatively new style of warfare (1). The objective was to ruin the agriculture and thereby starve the inhabitants. It involved the systematic hacking of fruit trees (tala) and destruction of water wheels and sluices, as well as burning crops. Granada fell in part due to a lack of provisions combined with the treachery of some members of the Royal house. Furthermore the terms offered by Isabella and Ferdinand seemed generous enough; the town surrendered after weeks of negotiations.

2.3 The language situation

It depended on geographic location:

1 Vilar (1980:194) Border raids from Granada up Orihuela had made use of similar tactics. Victory went to the most ruthless, but at what a price!

THE PENINSULA C13

	<u>Portugal</u>	<u>Castile</u>	<u>Navarre</u>	<u>Aragon</u>	<u>Valencia</u>	<u>Granada</u>
The Jews wrote	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some? Hebrew
wrote	Arabic	Arabic ¹	some Arabic	Arabic ²	Arabic ²	Arabic
spoke	Arabic	Arabic	some Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
<hr/>						
wrote		Castilian	Castilian	Catalan	Catalan	Romance?
spoke	Portuguese	Castilian	Navarrese	Aragonese	Aragonese	
				Catalan	Catalan	
The Christians wrote		some Arabic ³	some? Arabic	some Arabic ⁶	some Arabic ⁶	
spoke	some? Arabic	some Arabic	some Arabic	some Arabic	some Arabic	Arabic
<hr/>						
wrote Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	
wrote	Castilian	Navarro-Aragonese	Aragonese, Catalan, Castilian	Aragonese, Catalan	Aragonese, Catalan	
spoke Portuguese	Castilian	Navarrese, Basque	"	"	"	Romance
		some? French				
The Moslems wrote	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic ⁴	Arabic ⁴	Arabic	Arabic ⁵
spoke	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic, Berber
<hr/>						
As in Chapter 1,	indicates changes; non-underlined words express the norm.					

DEMOGRAPHIC FIGURES:

Valencia: 30,000 Christian settlers
200,000 Moslems (c.1250) Burns.

NOTES:

- Toledo translators.
- Secretaries to the king; crown officials in Valencia active in the land redistribution, Burns (1975:16). Hebrew-Arabic docs. Bosch Vila (1957:5).
- Toledo docs. in 7.3.3.3. Arabic and Latin to be taught in Seville, Royal Privilege 1254. There were a number of bilingual soldiers, i.e. the siege of Cordoba; the Christian mercenaries in North Africa. Some of these were landowners with Mudejares labourers.
- Saragossa docs. in 7.3.3.1.
- Vilar (1980:207) states that border messages, in particular between Granada and Aragon, were written frequently, up to C15, in Romance. This was never the case later. Some of the escaped Mudejares spoke probably some variety of Romance.
- Schools of Arabic are established to train preachers, c.1250, Burns (1975:353).

	Portugal	Castile	Navarre	Aragon	Valencia	Granada
The Jews wrote	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some? Hebrew	some Hebrew	some Hebrew	some? Hebrew
wrote	Arabic	Arabic ¹	*some? Arabic	*some?Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
spoke	*some?Arabic	*some?Arabic	*some? Arabic	*some?Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
<hr/>						
wrote	(Latin)	(Latin) ¹	(Latin)	(Latin)	(Latin)	* Romance?
	*Portuguese	Castilian	Castilian	Castilian	Castilian	
spoke	Portuguese	Castilian	*some? French	Catalan	Catalan	Romance?
			*Castilian	Aragonese	*Castilian	
			*some? French	*Castilian	*Valencian	
<hr/>						
The Christians wrote						
spoke	some? Arabic	*some? Arabic ³	*some? Arabic ²	*some Arabic	some Arabic ⁴	Arabic
<hr/>						
wrote	Latin ⁵	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	
wrote	*Portuguese	Castilian	*Castilian	*some Catalan	Catalan	
			*French	*some Castilian	some Castilian	
spoke	Portuguese	Castilian	*some? Navarrese	Aragonese	*Valencian	Romance
<hr/>						
The Moslems wrote						
spoke	* ? Arabic	*some Arabic ⁶	* ?	*some Arabic ⁷	Arabic ⁸	Arabic ⁹
		*some Arabic	*some Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
<hr/>						
wrote	* ?	*some Aljamía	*some Aljamía	*some Aljamía	*some? Catalan	Berber: Bufr,
spoke	*some? Portuguese	*some Castilian	*some Navarrese	*some Aragonese	*some Valencian	Barani varieties
	*some? Aljamía	* Aljamía	* Aljamía	* Aljamía		

+ : indicates changes; non-underlined words express the norm.

DEMOGRAPHIC FIGURES (approximate figures):

Castile	1300	Total population	4,500,000
	1492	" "	5,000,000
Navarre	1350	Total population	80,000 (a)
	1366	Moslems	300 (b)
	1400	Jews	very few
	1480	Total population	100,000 (a)
Aragon	1350	Total population	200,000 (a)
	1492	" "	240,000 (a)
	1495	Moslems	34,000 (b)
Catalonia	1350	Total population	500,000 (a)
		No Moslems on census	(b)
	1492	Total population	300,000 (a)
Valencia	1350	Total population	200,000 (a)
	1450	Moslems	69,000
	1492	Total population	250,000 (a)
Granada	1300	Total population	200,000 (c)
	1492	" "	350,000 (a)
	1492	Jews	1,000 (d)

(a) Valdeón (1981:12-15, 96).

(b) Fernández y González (1866:255,270,279); 1495 figure extrapolated.

(c) I. de las Cagigas (1953:22).

(d) Arié (1973:332).

NOTES:

1. Baer (1961:I:317) c.1320. Dispute between rabbis in Toledo on the interpretation of the Takkana, written in Arabic. Also Neuman (1948:93): "The Jews spoke and wrote Arabic in Toledo but Arabic was no longer the medium of the halakah." Latin was learnt solely for religious self-defence.
2. Urzante in 7.3.3.2.
3. Toledo docs, landowners with Mudejares labourers. This phase ended c.1400. Not including bilinguals: Christian mercenaries and frontiersmen; troops, shepherds (cf. Ación Almansa (1979) in García Arenal (1980), rastreros (border officials) and alfaqueques (ransom negotiators). See Mackay (1981:215).
4. Barceló Torres (1980:233): "During the whole C15, Arabic is an official language. We find in the Archives of the Baile General, constant references to letters, contract, docs, couched in that language by the qādīs, that were recognized as valid in court cases."
5. Latin was taking a new lease on life, but was used exclusively in Church matters.
6. Fatwa on skins in 7.3.3.3. Also Ms5052 BNM (1323) Inventario de bienes matrimoniales. One of the parties is the son of the qādī of Toledo.
7. Saragossa docs 7.3.3.1.
8. Valencia docs 7.3.2.
9. ^CAbdul-Wahāb (1953) Granadan Arabic had not changed all that much from C14 onwards. However Al-^CAbbādī (1973:141) quotes: "Nevertheless the inhabitants of Granada spoke a vernacular that was very mixed with Romance words." Nafḥ attib (1201:III:295).

CHAPTER THREE: 1492 - THE FALL OF GRANADA

3.1 The political situation: a summary

In 1492 Granada surrendered. The conditions were generous:

- .The Nasrid princes would receive estates.
- .Mosques and mortmain property would be respected.
- .Islamic Law would apply to the Moorish community.

The Spanish monarchs turned their attention to other business. Shortly after, they decreed the deportation of the Jews, a measure which bypassed the far more serious problem created by the large number of new converts. The return of Columbus brought a change in outlook. Castile, characteristically land-bound and enclosed, as it were, between two sea-powers, Portugal and Catalonia, would be able to compete with them on an equal footing. Granada and the Moslem community had ceased to be important. The lack of personal interest in this particular direction led to all kinds of abuses being exercised by unscrupulous crown officials and others on these most recent subjects. Complaints eventually made their way to court. Isabella sent the Primate, Ximénez de Cisneros, to Granada to settle the matter. He decided, as in the earlier case of the Jews, that conversion would defuse social unrest. The Moslems of Granada were given the choice of becoming Catholic or leaving the Peninsula on payment of a fee. Great numbers converted but not without the first of a series of insurrections. This may be explained by the fact that the fee was beyond the means of the majority, if one includes the expenses involved in sailing

overseas. Furthermore reports would have reached the inhabitants of Granada as to the hazardous reception met by Andalusian emigrants (1). It was a case of "better the devil you know...". Those who were able to, left. Arabic was proscribed from legal documents (2). The spirit of the "Capitulations" was dead. In these circumstances it was illogical for the authorities to tolerate any longer religious freedom in Castilian territories when it had been abolished in Granada, the latest to be conquered and the one with the largest Moslem community. Consequently the Mudejares of Castile and Leon were summoned to adopt Catholicism or leave (1502). It was virtually impossible for them to depart for reasons that can easily be imagined and one can say that they became Catholic in spite of themselves (3). The Moslem subjects of the King of Aragon were left in peace thanks to the vigorous intervention of their landlords in parliament. This state of affairs lasted until the Germanías risings.

Meantime Isabella died and a period of dynastic instability began. The immediate heir was mentally deranged and Ferdinand acted as regent to her son, Charles I, who succeeded him at the age of 17, having inherited Spain as it now is, and a number of possessions scattered throughout Europe, the sum of which almost equalled the size of Spain and with a population greater than Spain's. Within a very short time, his grandfather Maximilian of Hapsburg, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, died and Charles was elected in his place, to the

- 1 Gaspar Remiro (1911:222-3) re: fatwa of Wansharīshī (1491).
- 2 Seville, 12 May 1511, Ordenanças de la Real Audiencia. Documents in Arabic dated after 1500 were declared null and void.
- 3 Kamen (1979:118).

disgust of the Spaniards who were made to contribute to the costs of his election. Charles's accession saw a series of uprisings. That of the Comuneros that swept Castile and Leon in 1521, involving the aristocracy and the towns of central Spain and that of the Germanías in the region of Valencia, which took place at a moment when Charles was absent from Spain, therefore incapable of settling the issue before it developed into a crisis of serious proportions with deplorable consequences for the Moorish community. Trouble broke out between the landed gentry and the commercial sector of Valencia when the former reneged on the debts contracted with the latter. The burghers of Valencia formed confraternities (germanías) to defend their interests and armed themselves. The Mudejares, in due course, were drafted by their landlords. It was soon apparent that the Moorish subjects not only protected their masters but contributed enormously by their industry to their wealth. So to attack the Moslem labourers was to weaken seriously the opposing faction. The masses of the germanías consisted of mezquinos (Christian peasants) whose wages were constantly undercut by the Mudejares' cheaper labour. Their frustration turned to xenophobic hate. In particular, if the Moslems were baptized, they would all be on an equal footing. The conflict became generalized when the germanías declared themselves in rebellion. The troops, sent to quell them and thereby to support their opponents' cause, suffered a series of defeats. While the germanías went on the rampage, they lay waste the Mudejares villages, after which they would baptize the inhabitants as the only alternative to death. When order was finally restored, the question arose as to whether these forced converts were, in fact, Christian. The king chose to

think so and issued as a result a decree forbidding the practice of Islam (1). A number of appeals were made, but in vain. Only a period of ten years was given for changing customs and relinquishing Arabic. The Mudejares had become converts and came to be known as Moriscos. In their new status they fell, as any other Christian did, within the province of the Inquisition.

What had changed with the arrival of Charles I to the throne was that Castile and Aragon, still separate entities, now had a joint foreign policy, that of Spain, and Spain had become a world power. The issues it faced were far broader and the consequences of its decisions affected the whole of Europe. To single out two: the Reformation and the Turks. Both occurred simultaneously and threatened, as the emperor saw it, the spiritual unity and freedom of Europe. Both had their repercussions in Spain. The Reformation was a rejection of old accepted views and a calling into question of received Faith and the role of the Church. From 1520 to 1530 Charles attempted to mediate between the pope and Luther. His efforts failed, partly because the German princes felt they had more to gain from Protestantism than from consolidating the empire. Europe splintered into dozens of small and larger states: the ones Protestant, the others Catholic, or more simply the northern states of Europe were broadly Lutheran; the South followed Rome. The polarization of Europe meant that any Catholic initiative was Spanish Machiavellianism, and conversely any idea, any book, any practice from the North was Lutheran subversion. It is significant that by 1558, to introduce foreign books in Spain

would incur the death penalty (1). Spain closed its frontiers to European influences, drifted away from modern ideas. It is paradoxical that the presence of liberal-minded Flemish prince should have resulted in the reinforcement of the very opposite traits in the country he first ruled. In such a context religious minorities were not to be tolerated. The Inquisition crystallized what the body of opinion felt: nothing should weaken Spain in its task (or mission) of defending the Faith and evangelizing the Indies.

The Turks were of a different creed, it is true, being Moslems; yet it was more as an opposing political force that Charles I saw them. Indeed, his expedition against Tunis in 1535 was an attempt to regain control over the western Mediterranean. The Turks and the Barbary pirates, their allies, caused havoc to the shipping routes of the Genovese and Catalan fleets. Nonetheless, the Turks were closing in on Europe and the possibilities of contacts and conspiracy of Moriscos with fellow-Moslems overseas became a matter of concern. The abdication of Charles I in 1556 left Spain financially exhausted in spite of all the riches flowing from the Americas. Its soldiers had fought war after war, from one end of Europe to the other, sailing as far as Tunis, not to mention their colonial exploits. The Holy Roman Empire went to Charles I's brother; his son Philip II received Spain, the Low Countries, the possessions of France and Italy, the North African territories, and the colonies.

The foreign policies initiated under the previous reign were continued, except as regards France. The tension between

1 Atkinson (1960:131).

the two countries had somewhat abated. Religious wars devastated the continent. Philip II sided naturally with the Catholic cause. Meanwhile the expansion of the Ottoman Empire took alarming proportions in the 1560s. On two occasions already, Philip had tried unsuccessfully to stem the Turkish naval force. With the fall of Cyprus, a joint expedition with Venice and the Vatican was hastily brought together, and this time Spain defeated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, off Greece, setting a limit at last to Ottoman inroads. It seems more than a coincidence that the Moriscos of Granada should have taken up arms precisely at this moment. Their appeal for help remained largely unanswered, that is by the Sultan; although some troops and arms were sent in a haphazard fashion from Algiers. It was insufficient and there was no regular supply (1). The Low Countries were to be a never-ending affair, draining the vital resources of Spain crushed by taxation, covered in debts and, what is more, it was clear that the solution of the conflict in Flanders would not benefit Spain in any particular way. The venture of the Invincible Armada was a further disaster. But if the European policies had been disappointing, there were compensations in the New World. The colonial empire stretched incredibly from California to Chile and, with the exception of Brazil, from Patagonia to the West Indies, Mexico and Florida. The death of king Sebastian, in 1578, on an expedition against Morocco, left the throne of Portugal with no heir. Thus Philip

1 Atkinson (1960:156): "This 'rising of the Alpujarras' of 1568-70, had it enjoyed full instead of merely token support from Islam, could have preluded another collapse of Christian Spain; for the might of this empire on which the sun never set...was so widely dispersed as to be nowhere strong and was perhaps weakest of all at home."

II was able to add Portugal to his other possessions. The Peninsula was finally united under one king. With Portugal came the Portuguese colonies which included the African territories and trade settlements all the way to China. Madrid and the Escorial were, for a time, the heart of the largest colonial empire that ever existed. Mismanagement, or rather lack of direction, excessive centralization and punitive taxation took their toll and when Philip III mounted the throne, there was little left but the glorious shell of it all. 1596 had seen the third bankruptcy of Spain. The national debt amounted to 100 million ducats.

Whereas his father and grandfather had masterminded the politics of Europe, Philip III left government to his prime-ministers. The duke of Lerma is the one who concerns us the most, as he organized the bringing into effect of the plan to deport the Moriscos to North Africa (1609-1614). Meantime the European situation was gradually improving from Spain's point of view. There were still the complications deriving from the restlessness of the Dutch subjects, but with the death of Elizabeth I, her successor James I rapidly agreed to a peace treaty between the two powers. Just as the king of France was about to launch an attack on the Hapsburgs, he was assassinated. His widow, the Queen Regent, reversed the policy for one of friendship, sealed by the double wedding of Spanish and French princesses to the heirs of the respective thrones. It is because Spain was enjoying at long last a period of peace (1) that it has been said that the massive transportation of 275,000 people to North Africa was at all feasible (2).

1 1609 saw the signing of a 12 year truce between the Low Countries and Spain.

2 Lapeyre (1959); also Reglá (1974:34).

3.2 The newly "converted"

During this period society was in a state of flux; there were certain forces at work restructuring the medieval model, set out in Siete Partidas. Granada and its surrounding region had been redistributed among those who had participated in the siege. Estates were given to the higher nobility, including some Moorish princes who converted and became assimilated within that particular group (1). The creation of a new chancery in Granada had brought a flock of jurists from the universities; in turn the establishment of the Inquisition meant an expanding bureaucracy that required ever more servants. As had been the case with Seville and Lower Andalusia, there was an influx of people from the Centre and the North, seeking an easier life than they had enjoyed so far; a people wholly unfamiliar with the Moors of Granada; a people whose only experience with Moslems was the occasional contact with Mudéjares. These old Christians from the North were determined, so far as it was possible, to improve their social status and were able to do so in a majority of cases, in the troubled waters of the aftermath of the conquest. They identified with the values of the aristocracy who, if they did not have all the power, had the prestige. Honour and bravery were the ideal virtues and work was despised as the obligation and the characteristic of the lower classes. In a way, there was a polarization within society, that is the old Christians sided with the nobility, as reflected concisely in this comment by Sancho: "Yo cristiano viejo soy y para ser Conde esto me basta." (2)

1 The descendants of the governor of Baza and Almería and the sons of Abū l-ḥasan.

2 Don Quijote de la Mancha I, 21, quoted in Kamen (1979:9).

("I am an old Christian and that is enough to become a count.") This trend soon turned against those who had not these qualities. Parallel to the topical situation described above, there had been another outlet to social mobility: the Church. It was the base that even the sons of the peasant class on entering the orders could make their way to bishoprics and from there gain access to court circles where they enjoyed the privileges conferred upon the aristocracy. The new converts or cristianos nuevos by their mentality (and loyalties) disturbed this vision of society. On the one hand there were the Moriscos of which we shall speak later, and on the other the former Jews whose activities were, as we have said, usually professional: finance, administration, trading and medicine. They were situated between the nobility and the peasantry; they assumed the role of the almost non-existent middle-class. With their wealth they could buy themselves into the nobility, just as any other rich Christian. The more the Crown needed funds, the more easy this became; for the kings sold off some of their estates with an accompanying title. It goes without saying that these recent aristocrats did not adopt the military ideals of the old families. These, as we have said, felt threatened in their identity since they based their claims to honourific charges, privileges and titles on their belonging to families of known ancestry. These newcomers now shared the same favours with them, while maintaining different ideals and code of behaviour. If the trend was to proceed unchecked, the claims of the old families would be seriously weakened. It had to be stopped and stopped it was through the requirement of pureza de sangre - a pure ancestry of Christian background - of which documented proof had to be presented for any position in the

clergy and outside. The Inquisition was another means. In its investigation into potential heresy, it brought to light the genealogical history of those summoned before it (1). There were other factors also, wealth was becoming gradually the monopoly of the landed gentry, traditionally based on sheep-farming to the exclusion or reduction of other forms of agriculture. Yet Crown lands were being sold, as we have said; these were often situated in the neighbourhood of towns. Thus, the subsequent owners were motivated to encourage intensive farming in order to supply the urban markets, but this view went against the sheep-farming interests (2). As for the old Christians aspiring to better themselves, they saw the converts as dangerous rivals; they too supported the existence of the Inquisition which would eliminate the unworthy members of society, reinforcing thereby their claim that, on the grounds of religion, they were as good as the nobility. Little wonder that under this pressure, some converts went to extremes to demonstrate their Catholicism, persecuting in different ways those of their social group that did not imitate them. Whatever, former Jews had to live double lives in dread of being discovered. Their spiritual life and past traditions were little by little smothered out of existence (3). It is believed that between a third and a half of the Jewish community remained and converted, taking into account the Jews that made their way

- 1 Kamen (1979:15) maintains that its function was dual. Primarily religious, it served also as an instrument for the aristocracy to remove any group, any cause, that might diminish its privileges.
- 2 Note also Kamen's remark (1979:18): "Their expulsion [the Jews] meant that the aristocracy, having eliminated its richest rivals, could now expand its rule to the New World."
- 3 And this includes the use of any foreign language.

back to Spain after suffering many hardships abroad, e.g. the Jews who departed to Morocco (1).

The Moriscos formed the other group of newly converted. From that moment onwards they were no longer permitted to emigrate. Many did, always at the risk of their lives and property. Their condition was physically harder than that of the Jewish converts, for they could not aspire to social mobility and were only tolerated as long as they were useful as labourers and craftsmen.

The Moorish community of Granada had been mercilessly abused, as mentioned, by pettifogging civil servants and the old Christian population that arrived from the North (2). there was continuous friction. They resisted as far as they could and this was due to the fact that they still remembered the times when they had been free; they knew the "Capitulations" had been shamefully disregarded and they were still experienced soldiers who could and did ask for help from Islam. The other Morisco communities each had their characteristics. Those of Castile and Extremadura were more anonymous; many of them had been bound for centuries to the Military Orders (3) and had settled in newly created towns and villages after the fall of Toledo and land redistribution in Extremadura. Their activities were rural. Those of Aragon specialized in intensive farming and were knowledgeable in irrigation techniques. Some too were

- 1 Kamen (1979:34). The Jewish community was about 500,000 in 1484. This makes a maximum of 250,000 out of a total population of 7,000,000.
- 2 Cf. Letter of Remonstrance presented to Charles I on his arrival in Granada. Also Caro Baroja (1976:154) Alonso del Castillo Cartulario.
- 3 García Arenal (1977:167). At the end of C15 30% of the Mudejar population of all Castile resided in the domains of the Military Orders, according to Ladero Quesada.

craftsmen famous for their pottery and building. Most were bound to Christian landowners. Finally those of Valencia and Murcia, together they were almost as numerous as the Grenadan community. Their status was not all that different from that of the Moriscos of Aragon. On the whole they were involved in agriculture, but they produced goods to compete with those of Granada. They too, when the pressures became unbearable, rebelled and took to the mountains or escaped to North Africa, whenever they could find a pirate ship to ferry them across the sea. Nonetheless there were Moriscos who were not prepared to bear the way of life of their brethren and who fought back any way they could (1):

. The highwaymen who roamed in groups attacking all and sundry: villages, travellers, farms, traders. If they lived near the sea, they would exchange the prisoners with pirates who resold them as slaves. Banditry became a plague. At the beginning it was more localized along the coast of Granada and Murcia. Towards the end of C16, it extended to the central table-lands and this also was a factor in deciding the expulsion.

. The pirates were, in a number of cases, former Andalusians who carried out raids on land (i.e. Vélez 1617, Adra 1620) to capture slaves, while they also attacked shipping. In C15, sea trade between Barcelona, Valencia and Granada was paralysed by their action. The same problem forced Charles I to send various expeditions against Algiers and Tunis. Pirates so terrified the seaboard inhabitants that it was decided to forbid the Moriscos any access to the sea on account of the help

1 Vincent (1981:167-8).

they gave (1). These were confined to the hinterland and deprived of their arms.

The point of no return was reached with the proclamation of the "Pragmática" (1567). The decree forbade henceforth any custom which might otherwise differentiate the Moorish community of Granada from the Christian: the use of Arabic, baths, Fridays as a day of rest, Moorish music, clothes, and so on. An ultimate appeal, written by a distinguished member of the community, one Nuñez Muley, was presented (2). It was turned down. Within twelve months the rebellion of the Alpujarras broke out. It took two years to smother. As Brenan explains:

"[It] strained the resources of the country to the utmost. The settlement therefore was bound to be hard. Orders were issued that all the Moriscos - that is, Christian Moors - of the kingdom of Granada, both those who had risen and those who had not, were to be deported to the North West of Spain and settled as labourers on the land. Then to fill the gap caused by this immense migration, peasants from the mountainous regions of the north were invited to come in and take up the empty land and houses on very favourable terms. Some 12,542 families came from Asturias and Galicia." (3)

A few Moorish families were exempted in every village to instruct the newcomers. As for the deported Granadans, the majority avoided working the land, choosing more casual activities such as mule driving, tinkering, trading and not a few became highwaymen (4). Needless to say that all the while,

- 1 Vilar (1979:137). More especially after 1562, when 25 galleys sank south of Granada.
- 2 See 7.4.1. 3. Brenan (1963:218).
- 4 Boronat y Barrachina (1901) Doc.XXVIII Informe de D. Alonso Gutiérrez on the Moriscos of Seville, 1588: "Thus we see that however rich they be, they [Moriscos] do not wish to marry into old Christian families...and in Seville and Andalusia, they buy and sell foodstuffs and make dough and sell most of the bread consumed, both activities providing the greatest profits. They also manufacture goods from palm and hemp..."

that is from 1530 onwards, the Inquisition fulfilled its commitments with the same zeal it had with suspected Jews and heretics. Ironically, it is thanks to its records that the last pages of the struggle for survival of the non-Christians are so well documented and that we may follow the events as they affected the individuals until its conclusion with the massive deportation of the irreconcilable.

Why did the deportation of the Moriscos take place?

To the average Spaniard, they were:

- . Outlandish. They had refused all opportunities of becoming integrated. They preferred their "weird" customs and clothes to a European way of life. They refused Christianity.
- . They were treacherous; many had become bandits.
- . Their birth rate was far higher than the Christian. One must remember that large numbers of the latter entered the Orders, whereas the Moriscos married young and probably still practised polygamy. Their diet was more healthy than the Christian. They ate little red meat to by-pass slaughtering restrictions, and no pork; their staple was probably vegetable protein and a variety of fruit, to the disgust of Aznar Cardona (1612) (1). By 1563, the difference between the two rates was patent.
- . They consorted with the enemy: Turks, Barbary pirates and the French (2).
- . At the time of the Counter-Reformation, it was unthinkable for the Spaniards even to consider tolerating the slight on

1 Caro Baroja (1957:85); together with the occasional chicken, and eggs.

2 Mémoire adressé à Henri IV par les Morisques d'Espagne, in Circourt (1846:III:283). Also cf. Alonso del Castillo.

the Faith reflected in the stubborn refusal of the Moriscos to become good Christians. The charges of Heresy and Apostasy were the decisive factors.

It is difficult to imagine the effect their departure had on the economy and life of the Peninsula. Some 275,000 are said to have left (1) out of a population of 8,000,000. One should reduce the figure by one-third for a true picture as there were no Moriscos north of a line stretching from Zamora to Burgos and the Pyrenees and in Catalonia there were only a few thousand. Seville, Cordoba and Ciudad Real lost large numbers of their inhabitants. The region of Granada was now sparsely populated, so much so that the clergy was hard put to find any means of subsistence for lack of parishioners. Aragon and Valencia had lost most of their work force and sank into deep recession. The northern provinces were not affected, on the contrary their recent prosperity was more necessary than ever to the rest of the country. Lapeyre considers that some 10,000 escaped deportation; this figure includes the community of Tortosa. The said community was defended in spite of all opposition by the bishop, who vouched for their exemplary behaviour. They were allowed to stay and live in peace and welcome obscurity (2).

3.3 The language situation

It depends on geographic location.

- 1 Lapeyre (1959:206).
- 2 Reglá (1974:187-189).

	<u>Navarre</u>	<u>Castile (Kingd.)</u>	<u>Aragon</u>	<u>Valencia</u>	<u>Granada</u>
The (Jewish) Conversos wrote	The numbers of Christian converts are insignificant.	(Latin) Spanish	(Latin) ² Spanish	(Latin) Spanish	* (Latin) * Spanish
spoke		Spanish	Spanish	* some Catalan Spanish Valencian	* Spanish
			* some Catalan	* some Catalan	
The (old) Christians wrote		Latin ¹ Spanish	Latin * Spanish	Latin * Spanish	* Latin * Spanish
spoke		Spanish	* some Catalan Spanish * some Aragonese ⁴	* some Catalan Valencian Spanish, * some Catalan	Spanish
				some Arabic	* some Arabic(5)
The Moriscos wrote		some? Spanish ⁶ some Aljamía	some Spanish * Aljamía ⁴	* some? Spanish * some? Aljamía ⁶	* some Spanish * some? Aljamía
		+ ?	some Arabic(7)	* some Arabic (6)	* some Arabic
spoke		* some? Spanish ⁶ Aljamía	some Spanish Aljamía	some Valencian * some? Aljamía	* some Spanish * some Aljamía
		+ ?	* some? Arabic(6)	Arabic(6)	Arabic(5)
					some Berber

* = indicates changes; - - - - = Arabic; non-underlined words express the norm.

DEMOGRAPHIC FIGURES (approximate figures)

Spain	Total population previous plague	8,500,000
	1598-1600 plague deaths	500,000
	Jewish converts c.1600	300,000
Castile: 1610	Total population	7,000,000 (a)
	Moriscos	60,000
	Mudejares (i.e. old settlers)	20,000
Navarre	The number of new Christians is insignificant.	
Aragon	Moriscos	61,000 (b)
Catalonia	Moriscos	10,000 (b)
Valencia	Moriscos	117,000 (b)
Granada	Moriscos	2,000 (b)

(a) Lapeyre (1959:130).

(b) Reglá (1974:34;37)

NOTES:

1. Castilian had become Spanish, the official language of Spain (1492+). A very small minority now learnt Greek and Hebrew, e.g. Biblia Complutense.
2. Conversos learnt Latin in religious self-defence. Any knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic was generally concealed for fear of the Inquisition.
3. Latin was used in Theology and Science.
4. Ribera & Asín (1912): "This proves that the same thing happened between the Aragonese Moriscos as with the (old) Christian Aragonese who used Spanish as literary medium...while ordinary conversation in the family(circle) was in the Aragonese dialect." We would add that the Moriscos spoke Aljamía which would be close to Aragonese without being identical. See doc.16 Saragossa etc. in 8.4.
5. Lapeyre (1959:131,236): "These are the Moriscos there are in Badajoz that came from Granada...They speak Arabic at their weddings...they sing in Arabic and since nobody here, clergy or laity, understands them, they perform their ceremonies with greater freedom than they did in Granada because the priests...and old Christians that lived among them understood Arabic and the majority of them spoke it very well and watched them." Bishop of Badajoz A.G. Simancas, Camara de Castilla, leg.2196. Also, Morisco petition in Cordoba, 1572. They asked to be given more time to learn "Aljamía" and for a school to be opened at their expense. 28 Nov. 1572. Libro Capitular. Archivo Municipal.
6. Labarta (1980c:152). Very few documents have been found in the Valencia region compared to the number of Arabic ones. She quotes the 1605 report from P. Ignatio de las Casas to Pope Clement III:
 "The Moriscos of Toledo are in no way different from the old Christians, they do not speak nor understand a word of Arabic but read and write Spanish. Those of Aragon do not know Arabic and are worse off than the former. Those of Valencia speak Arabic and few understand Spanish nor can reason in it; they read and write Arabic." Valencia 1567. The doctor faqīh Capdon was accused of practising Islam and publicly teaching Arabic and Islamic prayers to young boys. Inquisition of Valencia, in Boronat y Barrachina (1901:I:255). Also García Arenal (1975:179).
 Aragon. Guichard (1976:37): "The Moriscos did not usually speak Arabic... in fact they sent their sons to stay with Morisco families in Valencia that they might practise what they considered to be their national language." Also Lea (1901).
7. Saragossa docs 7.4.3.

CHAPTER FOUR: DEPORTATION

4.1 Those who left

The first religious minority to be expelled were the Jews. Yet, as we have explained, members of that community had left Spain for the East, after the massacres that followed the murder of Pedro I, founding Sephardic communities in the Balkans, while a few eventually reached the Holy Land to settle in Jerusalem and mainly in the North, in the Safed area. With the 1492 decree, the remaining went preferably to Portugal where a large and thriving community existed. The massive arrival of Spanish Jews may have precipitated a xenophobic reaction in public opinion. The fact is that within a few years King Manoel - it is said to propitiate Spain towards a possible marriage between the two ruling families - adopted the same policies as Spain with regard to religious dissidents and introduced the Inquisition. The Jewish community had ceased to exist. All who could escaped, some to Morocco; the more fortunate, after many trials, landed in the Low Countries. As for those who were unable to leave, they soon attracted the attention of the Holy Office and were dealt with even more harshly than in Spain (1). However not all the Jews of Spain went to Portugal; a number travelled to Ferrara in the Italian Peninsula. There they enjoyed, for a while, relatively favourable conditions (2). Eventually they joined the Balkan communities of the Ottoman Empire. A small group settled in France,

1 Garcia Domingues (1945).

2 The major literary works in Judeo-Spanish were written in this period, e.g. Ferrara Bible (1553), Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel, S. Usque (1553).

in Bayonne, in the St. Esprit suburb. Finally, the rest went to North Africa; those who headed for Tunis were reasonably well treated and assimilated into the trading community (1). The situation was very different in Morocco where they had to bear endless vexations. They were joined by the escaping Portuguese Jews and the Spanish Jews that had gone to Portugal. Once in Morocco, they were not allowed to leave, a similar situation to the Moriscos across the Straits. Their fate depended on the whims of the sultan. This brief account has been included as it refers to a Spanish-speaking group who treasured for centuries the language of their community and, more directly relevant to our study, entered in contact, at times, with Arabic speakers. The linguistic implications of this situation will be considered in Part IV.

Before the Moriscos were deported in 1609, a steady stream of Moslem emigrants had abandoned the Peninsula after the loss of Valencia, Cordoba and Seville in 1492. In these early days, more is known of the outstanding individuals than of the mass, as biographies were written about them enabling one to follow their travels. Some settled in the Maghrib, many went to the East, e.g. Ibn ^CArabī, Ibn Sab^Cīn, Ibn ^CAbbād ar-Rundī. As time passed, conditions became worse for the Moslems in Spain and the flow of emigrants merged into a tidal wave, particularly after the evacuation of Lower Andalusia in 1492. The arrival of thousands began to make its mark on contemporary chronicles. New towns, new districts emerge; novel activities are mentioned; guards and troops are recruited from the newcomers (2).

- 1 Abdul Wahāb in Epalza & Petit (1973:19); also Oliver Asín (1933:410).
- 2 e.g. Caro Baroja (1976:240). The Andalusians played a major role in the battle of Alcazarquivir in which the king of Portugal died.

Up to Cl6, emigration, although difficult, was possible. After that it was not only illegal but perilous. The Spanish authorities relented once they decided that deportation was the only solution to the problem posed by the Moriscos' refusal to become "Spanish". About 50,000 left through France but they were not allowed to stay unless they became Catholic. The great majority were shipped from Marseilles after a harrowing journey through the South of France (1). The rest were gathered in 1609 and then again in 1612 and transported from all the main harbours of the southern half of Spain to North Africa.

. Morocco

The last ruler of Granada left in 1493 and some 10,000 followed. They were well received in Fez and Marrakech where they prospered as armourers and silk weavers (2). They were beneficial too in agriculture; they planted mulberry and olive trees. They settled in Tetuan and Rabat. Salé became a refuge of Andalusian pirates who attempted to negotiate their return to Spain in exchange for a strategic position on the coast.

. Algiers

The first to come formed new quarters in Algiers, Tlemcen and Mostaganem. Those who arrived subsequently were far less welcome, probably because they were too numerous, upsetting the social balance of the receiving community. These were met with hostility.

1 Cardaillac (1977); Lapeyre (1959:159) gives about 18,000; Penella in Epalza & Petit (1973:18) speaks of 50,000 (1610-11).

2 Caro Baroja (1976:45).

.Tunis

The enlightened attitude of the religious and political authorities smoothed over preliminary difficulties, although the cultural shock was severe. They came in tens of thousands (1) and the fact they were able to start a new life and take up their different specialities without social disruption is a monument to the beys' planning and the way they coped with what can only be described as the peaceful invasion of a whole society. The élite was settled within Tunis itself; intensive farmers and craftsmen were allocated plots in the suburbs and extensive farmers and labourers given land along watercourses. The country gained from them in many ways; they brought new techniques and production rose in manufactured goods and particularly in agriculture.

4.2 Those who returned

With the death of the ruler of Morocco, the Jews were able to leave the country. Having suffered so much already, the majority of the Luso-Hispanic community opted for Christianity and came back to Spain where they became conversos and relinquished their previous cultural ties.

The Spanish Moslems were far from made welcome everywhere. More often than not they fell victim to the rapacity of pirates and other crews. Many refused to embark once the expulsion was decreed, so great was their fear of being ill-treated by sailors. Only when eminent personalities agreed to arrange their passage and their further settlement were they at all

1 Abdul Wahāb in Epalza & Petit (1973:18) mentions 80,000 for 1609.

convinced (1). Even then some rebelled. The fatwa of al-Wansharīshī paints a dismal picture of the fate that overtook others:

[These Andalusians] bitterly regret having fled from Spain to come to the House of Islam and are exceedingly irritated and disappointed; they broadcast that their situation is unbearable, not having found in the House of Islam, that is the Maghrib - May God keep and protect it! - any place to settle nor any help from the sultan that would afford them an easy life and neither do they have the necessary protection while they journey through these lands...some have gone so far as to say: -We should not have come here, we must go back-; others say: -If the king of Castile comes to this land, let us go to him and beg him to send us back, that is to say to the House of the Infidel-." The author goes on to query whether the Andalusians may be accused of Apostasy, although they had previously fled from it.(2)

A more objective interpretation would be that their arrival overtaxed the meagre resources of impoverished regions that scarcely fed the native population. Settlement proved arduous for other reasons. On the one hand, Maghribi Moslems doubted, not without reason, the sincerity of the faith of the newcomers (see above); indeed, one should say authenticity. There was a lack of understanding and sympathy for the latter (except in Tunis), which the distinguished Andalusians resented and were thus hard put to defend their cause (3). How could they maintain the purity of Islam under such adverse conditions? Had they not done their best? While on the other hand, Spanish Moslems could not help comparing unfavourably the Maghrib with the more technically advanced Spain. The process has been commented upon by Oliver Asín (4) and details are to be found in Epalza & Petit (3).

- 1 The Duke of Maqueda went to Oran with his former subjects. The Count of Aguilar discussed the terms of their settlement.
- 2 Gaspar Remiro (1911:222-3).
- 3 Turki in Epalza & Petit (1973:189).
- 4 Oliver Asín (1933).

A number of Moslems returned. Those who did before 1614 were deported again as in the cases of Granada, the Ebro valley - although some escaped by seeking refuge within the Tortosa community - and the less fortunate instance of the valley of Ricote where a spared community was finally shipped abroad for having harboured deportees. Other cases are reported in Bibliografía menor (1), e.g. 404 (1618) a group of 24 Moriscos from Algiers return, disguised as monks, to Madrid. BNM Varios Especiales 224-243. The situation must have been common as it found its way into literature (Don Quixote) and legend (there are still a number of tales of Moorish buried treasures). Those who came back faced the galleys if they were found out; they had no alternative but to conform to the Spanish way of life.

The Council of State declared that the issue of the expulsion of the Moriscos had been settled and recommended that all further trials be suspended on 20th February 1614 (2). This date marks the demise of Arabic as a native language in the Peninsula (3).

- 1 Rodríguez Joulia Saint Cyr (1970).
- 2 in Lapeyre (1959) Doc.XIX Appendix. A.G. Simancas, Estado, Leg.2644.
- 3 For further details of the Moriscos' literary production, see 8.4.

PART II - LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

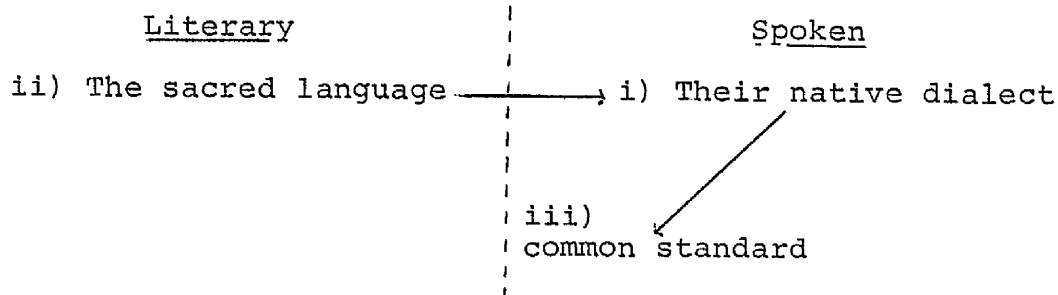
CHAPTER FIVE: A STUDY IN VARIATION

As explained in the previous section, the linguistic situation in Spain is extremely complex and, moreover, ever-changing with "the fortunes of war" and the settlement policies of the rulers on either side of the frontier between Islam and Christendom. Various concepts (as well as methods) have been proposed by linguists, some of which will be discussed now as to their usefulness in reducing the scope of variation which characterizes the study so far.

5.1 Diglossia

It was Ferguson who first saw the implications of the state of "Diglossia" (1) for the theory of language. The model has proved useful in its explanation of the gap between the parallel evolution of a high variety with the restraining influence of its status as sacred language and coexisting dialects. The educated members of this community have to learn at least three varieties:

- 1 Ferguson, Charles A. (1959), "Diglossia", Word 15:325-40. Due credit must be given to other linguists who had reported previously on diglossic situations: Ribera (1928:I:28) and Marçais who formulated the concept 'La diglossie arabe. La langue arabe dans l'Afrique du Nord', Revue Pédagogique (1930;1). See Pérès Mélanges offerts à William Marçais (1950); the introduction of the work includes detailed information on Marçais's research into "Diglossie".



This situation reaches its limit when the native dialect is no longer recognizably Arabic either because mutual intelligibility breaks down seriously between speakers of different regional dialects within the same linguistic community, or, at another level, because the dialect shows a considerable degree of foreign interference, e.g. massive borrowing of new words, reduction of functional oppositions in the phonemic system. Diglossia existed in Moorish Spain, probably from the beginning. Ocaña Jiménez gives ample evidence to support this view (1), in his study of Arabic inscriptions carried out at official request by stone cutters and ivory carvers. Commenting upon certain commemorative inscriptions that appear on the base of some pillars of the palace of Al-Hakam II in Cordoba, he points out the following spellings:

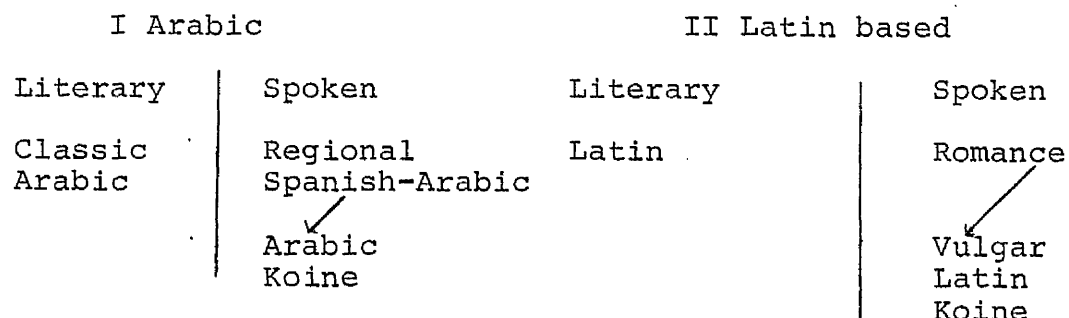
عبر الله الحكم for عبى لله اكلم م - Al-Hakam II

لمجالس القصر for لمجالس القصر

Which is an indication of the literary skills of the cutters nor the overseers. As Ribera (2) observed, there was, in fact, a twofold diglossic situation in al-Andalus:

1 Ocaña Jiménez, M. (1970:35-36).

2 Ribera (1928:I:28).



Our study will follow the pressures and changes in these systems towards a greater symmetry in the Arabic case (which resolves itself eventually with the appearance of written Koiné) and the breakdown of the Latin-based system.

We would suggest that diglossia entails (a) a certain fragility or lack of stability with regard to any given native dialect, as the dialect in question will lack the reinforcement of its identity brought about through a corresponding written form; and (b) the mental effort of having to learn and use three separate forms should be taken into consideration: proficiency in one variety will be maintained at the expense of the other two. Therefore, we expect a high rate of change in these dialects, drifting away from the sacred language, more especially so in the absence of any strong cohesive force such as would result from belonging to the same empire. In the contact situation we find in the Iberian Peninsula between Romance and Semitic varieties, the vernaculars and their influence on the literary variety evolve at different rates. When elders, men of letters complain about the lack of purity to be found in the language of the inhabitants of x region or y town, these are indications that the status quo no longer holds. When they comment on the lack of scholarship in "modern times" and write essays or grammars for the benefit of the less well educated, the rate of change must be unusually rapid, e.g.:

Ibn Gabirol states in the introduction to his Hebrew grammar ^CAnaq (1039) that the majority of the members of his community in Saragossa seem to have forgotten Hebrew since half speak the tongue of Edom (Christians) and the other that of Qedar (Moslems) (1).

Ibn Bassām complains in the dakīra of the "barbarous speech" spoken in Cordoba Cl1-Cl2 (2).

Ibn Sa^Cīd (1214-1287) remarks that the Moslem inhabitants of Al-Andalus make many grammar mistakes in speech, but are most accurate in written Arabic (3).

This last comment is revealing. The distance between written and spoken varieties is such that the diglossic system is reaching breaking point, that is the emergence of two languages, as in the Latin system. While in another direction, the cohesion brought about by mutual intelligibility is weakening, pilgrims from Al-Andalus are rarely understood (4) in the holy cities when they use their own variety. These opinions are not without recalling those of Alvaro and Eulogio on the demise of Isidorian culture within the Mozarabic community. If we look into the political background to these writings, we find civil unrest and/or xenophobic pressure. In these circumstances power and prestige may only be attained if one is fluent in the official language, but it is at the risk of losing one's cultural heritage. There seems to be a degree of correlation between:

- (a) prolonged civil disturbances;
- (b) xenophobic pressure (laws, etc.); and
- (c) an accelerated rate of linguistic change.

Needless to say that diglossia per se increases awareness of change.

- 1 Millás Vallicrosa (1945:48-49).
- 2 ed. Cairo:I:229.
- 3 in Nafḥ at-tīb, trad. Gayangos (1843:142).
- 4 Ribera (1928:I:31).

With the general increase in literacy, there is documented proof of the emergence of mixed language forms. Some of these processes are referred to as Dialect, creole, pidgin, creolization, and pidginization. We propose to analyse first these terms, to follow their implication, and in a later part of our study, to see whether they apply to any of the Spanish Arabic dialects and what insights may be retained in such a typology.

5.2 Dialect overlap

Dialect overlap can be seen, among other attempts to reduce the scope of variation, as a means of retaining the homogeneous core shared by two or more varieties, which can be analysed, then, using conventional methods. In this way the linguist, once he has otherwise selected certain features A, B, C, D... from any level (phonology, syntax etc.), is able to compare varieties V1, V2, V3..., not only on the 1:1 basis of presence or absence of a particular feature, but may appreciate as well the relative degree of appearance of a cluster of features, the set of which gives a more delicate picture of the relative distance of one variety from another. For the sake of illustration, let us compare the consonantal system of standard modern Arabic V1, English (RP) V2, standard modern Maltese V3 (1):

1 Personal tape (1978 - Informant: educated male).

Features	A	B	C	D	F
	/p/	/t≠t/	/ts≠t/	/h≠h/	/ʔ/
V1	-	+	-	+	+
V2	+	-	(+)	-	-
V3	+	-	+	+	+

+ = presence; - = absence

(+) /ts/ is rare in English, occurring in foreign words.

The point of the exercise is to set up a preliminary test as to whether modern Maltese belongs to the Semitic family of languages or to the Indo-European, given that it is a mixed language. With the exception of C, the features chosen are crucial in V1. The resulting table shows positive correlation with D and F; negative correlation with V1 in A and B. Feature C is characteristic of Maltese and bears a heavy functional load. In C, V3 is closer to V2 where the functional load is slight, whereas in V1 it is almost nil. To summarize, there are reasonable grounds on positive correlation to include Maltese within the Arabic dialects. It is also clear that this method will only be as good as the choice of features permits.

Yet, assuming that these have been well argued for, this approach brings some light to the areas of fuzziness one encounters in the data of field studies, e.g. the occurrence, in some geographical districts, of the possible free variation of two forms in a certain percentage. Chambers and Trudgill identify these conditions as "mixed or fudged lexts" (1) i.e. border conditions on either side of isoglosses, or similarly, the appearance of possible free variation of two forms within a certain percentage, in the data of age groups, in longitudinal studies into linguistic behaviour, such as

1 J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill (1980:147ff).

stress assignment in Haugen (1).

As we have seen, this method is particularly well suited to express convergence of forms, taking this to mean (a) features of a similar nature present in two or more varieties; (b) change implying loss of diverging features between two varieties; (c) change implying acquisition (by loan or assimilation) of features present in another dialect. Finally, the term dialect overlap stresses common features to several dialects.

5.3 Pidgin v. Creole

Pidgin and creole are terms describing mixed languages, that is, those varieties which are a blend of different languages resulting from a contact between various language communities. Whereas dialect overlap focussed on similarities of features, pidgin and creole tend to emphasize the difference from parent language to derived mixed variety. They were coined to limit the field of variation in a contact situation context, as aids towards a possible typology of linguistic varieties.

Both pidgin and creole are speech forms that have reached a certain level of "crystallization" essential to their being adopted by a community of speakers. A pidgin, therefore, lies beyond the manipulations of the individual attempting to express himself in foreign lands. Yet compared to a creole, it is singularly limited in its structure and restricted in its uses. Pidgins emerge as the result of population displacement,

1 J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill (1980:100ff).

conquest or trade exchange, and are not learned as mother tongues. Granted, then, that pidgins seem to lack the registers that creoles and dialects possess, the main characteristic of a pidgin would be the extreme simplicity of its structure; or from a dynamic perspective, the drastic reduction in many grammatical devices, such as number, gender and features of redundancy (1).

Since the concept of simplicity is relative - x is simple compared to y, z etc. - in this instance, simplicity refers to surface structure. Thus, one generally finds an absence of morphemic endings, a small set of verbal forms and a limited vocabulary, which play a decisive part in the shaping of the semantic and syntactic components. Indeed, simplicity at one level usually implies complexity at another, lack of specific information leads to compensatory mechanisms. On the one hand, lexical items are assigned a large number of meanings; on the other hand the same items may have several syntactic functions. To illustrate the point let us take an item meaning "yesterday". At the semantic level, the scope of its meaning is extended to include what for us are different moments in time: "some time ago, in the past, the other day, a long time ago", while serving as an adverb and tense marker at the syntax level. The ensuing ambiguity and vagueness is compounded on account of borrowing. As a loan from a parent language may differ considerably in its usage once it has been accepted into pidgin.

Creoles share some of the characteristics of pidgin varieties: both are mixed language forms arising whenever mutually unintelligible dialects come into contact and

1 DeCamp, D., in Dell Hymes (1971:15).

consequently, compared to their parent languages, show extensive borrowing:

"creole is only an extreme result of a normal phenomenon in the development of language: linguistic borrowing..."(1)

how extensive may be appreciated in the following example:

"In Middle English at least forty per cent of each component - lexicon, semantax, phonetology and morphology - is mixed... The only question of substance is whether Old French was creolized with Anglo-Saxon...or whether Anglo-Saxon was creolized with Old French, or whether the mixture was so thorough-going a nature that it makes little sense even to pose the question at all..."(2)

Again, in relation to parent languages, they present a simpler surface structure. One explanation would be that of Whinnom's:

"a failure of matching in languages at the conceptual level results in loss - since the simpler - and cruder - system always prevails, from whichever linguistic system it originates...(3)

or otherwise observed, when faced with the necessity of borrowing, it is always the unmarked item - in terms of Greenberg's classification - that takes precedence over the marked one. The principle is substantiated by the Kupwar data in the well known Gumperz and Wilson study (4).

Nevertheless creole and pidgin diverge in a number of ways. It is difficult to discuss any aspect of creole without taking into account social attitudes. Leaving to one side the view that creole is a debased form of one of the parent languages spoken by the uneducated, creole is a culture medium. Creole speakers teach it to their young, express by means of it the aesthetic values of their society, thus opening the way to literature. Creole, therefore, possesses in theory the

1 Halliday et al. (1964:101).

2 Bailey and Maroldt in Jürgen Meisel ed. (1977:21ff).

3 Whinnom in Dell Hymes (1971:108).

4 In Dell Hymes ed. (1971).

the flexibility of registers that one takes for granted in any language:

"creoles are ordinary languages" (1).

In practice, more often than not, it has to compete with one of the parent languages, which is in the enviable position of being the official language of the country. So they are relegated to certain uses and their corresponding registers, and literary forms, may be long in appearing and remain scarce. Suffice it to say that it is a normal development for any vernacular to reach the status of language.

"But the deficiencies of a linguistic...system can be repaired; and it is now fairly well established that every creole language of which we have early texts appears to have repaired many of the deficiencies of its parent pidgin by reconstructing a more elaborate and a more flexible syntax and reintroducing in the verbal system, for instance, distinctions of, and methods of marking tense, aspect, mood and so on." (2)

Which leads us to linguistic change. As we have just seen, these mixed varieties evolve. Some creoles overcome adverse conditions, expand into writing and come to be accepted as literary languages (Haitian, Middle English). Others never achieve autonomy and tend to merge at more formal registers with the prestige language, while at the other end of the scale, known as the "creole continuum", yet other creoles become so reduced as to be virtually pidgins (3). The differences between both types are a matter of degree. These changes affecting whole systems have been called "Pidginization" and "Creolization".

1 In Dell Hymes ed. (1971:477).

2 Whinnom, op.cit. (1971:108). That is, if parent pidgin is the intervening step.

3 Dell Hymes (1971:73).

5.4 Pidginization, creolization

More important than the resulting forms, themselves, is an understanding of the mechanisms of change and that is what is usually implied by pidginization and creolization. When one considers change, one looks for what has altered, why and under what circumstances. The first falls within descriptive linguistics; the causes lie in the domain of theory and are therefore far more inaccessible to corroboration. They occur in part in the historical and in part in the sociological fields where the major difficulty is interpreting the data correctly.

At first, it was thought that creolization and pidginization were merely processes of simplification and complication of the outer form. The idea that creole originated from a parent pidgin, itself a mixed form derived from standard languages, was consistent with this view. This may be the case but not necessarily so. A more sophisticated understanding of language theory, on the one hand, and the vagueness of the concepts, simplicity and complexity, on the other, led to reformulation. One proposal stressed the psychological aspects to the question. Pidginization was simplification, because it tended to invariance of form which minimizes the knowledge a speaker needs to have. The focus is on words, their order and situational context (1). Creolization could be seen as a language form that had undergone such a simplification, while being subjected to a further process of relexification or widespread innovation. A later step was to accept into the theoretical framework the findings of the generative

1 Escaped slaves' speech in the Guyanas. Schoel (1936) in Vintilă Rădulescu (1975:121).

transformational linguists. Namely it was no longer considered satisfactory to concentrate on outer form analysis without attempting to predict the mechanisms that brought about changes in the surface structure. As Dell Hymes lucidly puts it, after stating that pidginization should be recognized as a complex process comprising the concurrence of several component processes, he says:

"In this respect, it seems desirable to make the component processes terminologically distinct. .
 "For change in complexity of outer form one can speak of simplification and complication. For change in the scope of the inner form one can speak of reduction and expansion. For change in the scope of use of a variety of language, one can speak of restriction and extension." (1)

The proposition is interesting on another account. It reflects the increasing sensitivity to language use that emerged as a result of the impact of Fishman and Labov's surveys into the linguistic habits of whole generations of speech communities. The latter, himself, voiced certain misgivings as to the validity of some pidgin-creole studies. The point he makes is that one must beware of

"typological thinking in terms of whole languages or parts of languages as surrogates for the whole, [this] must be replaced by 'stylistic' models, concerned with fashions of speaking or speech styles. Such styles would be defined by rules of co-occurrence and co-variation and by contrastive alternation with other styles and would be capable of dealing more directly and empirically with changes in terms of features and limited configurations of features." (2)

In a similar vein, Brigitte Schlieben Lange, in a paper

"The origins of Romance languages as an instance of creolization?" underlines the importance of checking findings against density of speaker population, social background and whether

1 Dell Hymes (1971:70).
 2 Labov (1965).

they live in urban or country areas (1).

It will be seen that advances in general linguistics have enriched pidgin and creole studies by providing them with added rigour and a theoretical model, enabling them to coalesce into a new field of knowledge. This has been one of the most interesting developments of linguistic science, as they have been the most successful so far in reconciling quantitative statements with theory and their outlook has proved beneficial to linguistic theory in general. Moreover, pidgin-creole research provides us with valuable insights into linguistic change affecting whole systems of features. Fully developed creoles differ little in their behaviour from dialects and what affects a creole may be said to alter a dialect in a similar way, although possibly on another time scale. Thus we agree with the view that these studies, far from being marginal or exotic, have a central part to play in a general understanding of change which permeates all forms of language, e.g.:

- 1) change in form (reduction/expansion, simplification/complication)
- 2) change through confluence of different linguistic traditions
- 3) change in scope of use (restriction/extension)
- 4) change in status

Historical research into language forms, equally, has a contribution to make. Creolists at the Mona conference (1968) expressed the view that more research was needed into the origins of Sango and Mbugu. Such research should supply some data about given speakers, their number, their location, their

1 In Jürgen Meisel (1977:96).

means of subsistence and whether they have any trade outlets. Obviously, the further back one goes, the more difficult it becomes to cross-check the findings. Samarin underlines yet another point:

"by looking into the available historical information about what was spoken and who spoke what, it may help us to understand better what we observe and reveal what we do not even suspect." (1)

while making, at the same time, a contribution to historical reconstruction.

5.5 Borrowing

The study of creoles and pidgins extends to varieties as a whole. Let us take a closer look at borrowing which is just one aspect of these language forms. Everyone uses in the course of daily conversation the occasional foreign word or expression. In time, if their frequency of occurrence is high, they may be adopted into the language just as any other new expression. "Restaurant" is an example of this process. Originally a French word, it has now become more acceptable in British English than "coffee shop", a recent acquisition competing with "coffee house" and "coffee room".

What happens when borrowing increases to such a degree that the affected variety is no longer recognized as a variation of x or y dialect? What is the nature of this phenomenon? Weinreich drew attention to several cases:

(a) Interference. In the present situation, borrowing causes interference. A general term describing "any points of difference between two systems", i.e. phonic, grammatical and

1 Samarin in Dell Hymes (1971:123).

5.6 Intelligibility

The concept of intelligibility is of some importance to our study because it is a standard of reference that is immediately perceptible to the speaker, indeed it shapes one's attitude to language. Taking for instance the following collection of words in present-day Spanish:

algarabía, alboroto, algarada, algazara, alarido, etc.
as is the case with loans which invariably lose part of their original meaning when they are finally accepted into the receiving language, all have almost completely lost their former meaning. Compare:

	algarabía	alboroto	algarada	algazara	alarido
Ar. Arabic	noisy confused chatter	contest (bāraza?)	raiding- party	raid uproar	war-cry a scream

They now express the idea of a noisy roar. These interpretations have emerged from a situation of incomprehension or a lack of intelligibility (1).

Lack of intelligibility between speakers is an indication that they do not speak the same language. If the dialects they speak are too different in structure and when the need for exchange arises, they may resort to creating a new variety which eventually might jell into a pidgin (2). So lack of

1 The English expression "Double-Dutch" has a similar history. For 'algarabía' Lévi-Provençal gives another etymology. He derives it from al lisān al-ġarbi (al-ġarbiyya). The expression was used by the Andalusians to qualify the incomprehensible speech of the Berbers. (Espagne Musulmane au Xè siècle, p.191) in Cagigas (1950:56). It is the same linguistic situation at one remove. Then by false analogy, it became algarabía "Arabic → noisy chatter".

2 See 5.3 for details.

intelligibility allows the linguist to set up boundaries (isoglosses) between areas where two or more dialects are spoken but not understood across boundaries, i.e. Basque and Spanish, or to establish distinctions between varieties:

"Linguists usually agree that French Creole is a different language from French. One of the criteria they have used to reach this conclusion is the fact that the two varieties are NOT MUTUALLY INTELLIGIBLE." (1)

Conversely, these isoglosses or bundle of isoglosses group together regions where, although the varieties are locally different, the speakers of one variety can understand the speakers of the other varieties, i.e. Aragonese and Catalan in Cl3. That is, immediately - without the need for prolonged contact.

However, this useful concept will have to be interpreted through the less satisfactory variable of social attitudes which are liable to change with the current socio-historical situation. As Chambers and Trudgill explain:

"Mutual intelligibility will also depend, it appears, on other factors such as listeners...degree of education and interestingly enough, their willingness to understand. People, it seems, sometimes do not understand because at some level of consciousness, they do not want to. A study carried out in Africa (2), for example, demonstrated that, while one tribe A claimed to be able to understand the language of another tribe B, tribe B claimed not to be able to understand language A. It then emerged that group A, a larger and more powerful group, wanted to incorporate group B's territory into their own on the grounds that they were really the same people and spoke the same language. Clearly group B's failure to comprehend group A's language was part of their resistance to this attempted takeover." (3)

- 1 Vintilă Rădulescu (1979:17).
- 2 H. Wolf (1959) "Intelligibility and inter-ethnic attitudes", Anthropological Linguistics, pp.34-41.
- 3 J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill (1980:4). This recalls similar situations in Poland and Norway.

Possibly this situation is not that uncommon in history.

Were such arguments used by the stronger party in the conquest of Toledo (1085)? The sources tell that this thriving fortified town fell without a fight to the Christian hosts. Did the inhabitants of Toledo identify themselves with the Christian cause rather than with Islam? The mystery has not been completely explained. Linguistics might offer a pointer (1).

To return to a point made by the two authors, mutual intelligibility will depend on the degree of education, which transfers the discussion from the geographical dimension to the social one, to the use of courtly language rather than vernacular. Thus, Andalusian literature in Classical Arabic was commented upon in Baghdad (2) and recited in Boukhara in literary circles; yet outside these literary circles, it may have been beyond the possibilities of many Andalusians to understand. The elaborate vocabulary demanded by poetry and rhyming speech and the highly structured syntax characteristic to this literature would be foreign to the experience of all but a few literati compared to the rest of the population. This extreme situation, where the written form is the privilege of a small minority, leads to a mounting awareness of the need for some new written form more accessible to a wider audience. Be it Aljamía:

"pero dire / aki una partida d-ello i puselo en
^CAḡamī ^Vsegun la tiyerra / porke me^Vsor lo entiyendan
 lo^Vs mayores^V / i lo^Vs menores^V de Allah... (3)

- 1 See 1.2; i.e. demographic importance of the Mozarabic community may have swung the balance of power.
- 2 Muqaddima: III, 405; Rosenthal (1958:455).
- 3 R. Kontzi (1974:II :880) "But I shall tell here, that which I translated into Aljamía from these parts so that it would be better understood by great and small of Allah (C16)."

or Alfonso X's efforts to make Castilian the official language C13, or again his grandson Denis's achievements in making Portuguese vernacular the language of administration and law (end of C13 - early C14).

In spite of the drawbacks to using intelligibility as a working concept within descriptive linguistics, we have seen that the point of intelligibility is subjective and cannot be assessed externally, for instance on percentage of borrowings. It is abundantly clear that the presence or absence of mutual intelligibility shapes attitudes. Furthermore, the variety spoken locates the speaker geographically and socio-economically. Speech is available to all as a means of identifying the stranger, and if necessary of detecting the foreigner (cf. Shibboleth).

Various concepts have been presented in this chapter which illustrate ongoing changes permeating language systems. No mention has been made of variation rules, mainly for two reasons. The first because they capture variation in specific environments:

Let A, B, C, D be features; x=grammar 1, y=grammar 2

Probability of $x \rightarrow y$ if $AB \text{---} / \text{and/or} / \text{---} CD / \#$

Specific environments will be discussed subsequently. The second reason is that the usefulness of such a method within this study is far from obvious, as we are dealing with source material limited both in style and availability.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSING THE CONSTANT

There are a certain number of expressions in modern Spanish not found in other Latin-based languages, at least to the same extent of frequency: avoidance of the passive mood, enclitics on the verb stem, dropping of subjects, absence of dummy subjects, minimal pairs of cognates, madero/madera "plank/wood" (material), collective plurals, los Hijos "sons and daughters", and so on. One would be justified in asking whether the prolonged mutual contact of Arabic-based varieties and Romance dialects would not account for some of these items. This study attempts to give a partial answer to the issue in question. Straightforward replies are rarely possible, however much they would be welcome, and this is because on the one hand, the sources do not provide directly relevant material and on the other, it is almost impossible to establish a theoretical framework with the delicacy required to deal satisfactorily with the assortment presented above.

Neither is the above list completely arbitrary; it corresponds, at first glance, to apparently similar items in Arabic. It is therefore important not to jump to conclusions and to verify if there has been any influence or whether it is just a case of parallel development that occurs simultaneously in both languages. So it appears that in order to be able to solve individual problems it is necessary to understand the structure and the processes of change affecting each language and the answer - when it is possible - comes after a time-consuming study of far wider implications than would have been expected at first when formulating the casual remark.

Coming back to the socio-historical considerations offered in Part I, the languages in contact over the period of time - set by the entry and the departure of Arabic-speakers in the Peninsula - are Arabic, Latin and Spanish, granted that what was actually spoken was dialects of the three. The languages served as ideal references; the speakers could chose along the diglossic axis how closely they would follow the standard model. Our first task then is to describe in some concise way the essential aspects of these three languages and the method we adopt must be able to register change, overcoming the drawback of never-ending unordered listing of varying phenomena.

6.1 Greenberg's parameters

As languages, all three have a verbal system and a nominal system. The complex relationship between the two systems indicated by link words and morphemes is what is known as syntax. Syntax is defined by a limited number of conventional language-specific patterns, the violation of which constitutes ungrammatical strings. The patterns are realized by generating items as slot fillers, e.g.:

	Arabic	Latin	Spanish
Pattern I:	[V]	----->	
	qatala	fiat	voy
	"he killed"	"let it be so"	"I am coming"

All three languages have this pattern, but the analysis makes no distinction between the following pairs:

qatala	fiat	voy
'istaqtala	factus est	iré
"he defied death"	"it is done"	"I shall come/go"
(I/X measure)	(aspect/tense)	(tense/tense)

A more restricting frame of reference is needed, while the first is still valid as far as it goes. It shows that common elements must be retained if a comparison is to be achieved. Any potential influence assumes a contact between two items.

Greenberg's universals have much to commend themselves (1). They have been established from contrasting a substantial number of languages. Any appeal to them would place this study in a wider context of ongoing linguistic research. Other linguists would be able to relate the results more directly to their interests. Using Greenberg's parameters, the languages appear thus:

<u>Parameters</u>	<u>Latin</u> (2)	<u>Spanish</u> (3)	<u>Arabic</u>
Position of Verb, subj, obj.	SOV-SVO	SVO-VSO	VSO
Verb, aux.	V Aux.	Aux. V	Aux. V
Adj., noun	N adj.	N A	NA
Genitive, N	NG	N <u>de</u> G	NG
Prep., N	PN	PN	PN
Rel. cl., N	N[R]	N[R]	N[R]
Comparison	NA <u>quam</u> "more X than"	N <u>más</u> A <u>que</u> "more X that"	N A <u>min</u> "more X out of"
Derivation	by affixation	by affixation	by affixation

It is clear that there has been a major change in word order between Latin and Spanish. The process must have been taking place or was coming to an end at the beginning of our period of study, in the Vulgar Latin of C8. Leaving aside Latin and Spanish as genetically related, Greenberg's frame of reference reveals with regard to Spanish and Arabic a remarkable degree of compatibility, with 3 entries which present areas of

- 1 Greenberg (1963).
- 2 Peregrinatio Egeria, C5, Iberian Latin. Data from Koll (1965:241).
- 3 Cervantes is used as reference.

contention: word ordering, derivation and comparison.

6.2 Convergence

Languages per se are in a perpetual state of change, although syntactic changes take place at a slower pace than in the lexicon, where new meanings and new phonological rules are constantly being stored or revised. These shifts in the syntax that occur over prolonged spans of time have, unexpectedly, similar developments in different language groups. This means that change is not random; there is an internal logic to it as, for instance, the loss of case and the appearance of new functional markers is ascribed to a drift towards "analycity". This has long been recognized, but there are other movements of a tangential nature. They inform area typology. Thus, unrelated languages acquire characteristics which can only be explained as resulting from their mutual contact. A classic case is Kupwar (1). The village of this name is situated in southern India and the population of 3,000 makes use of 4 languages: Kannada, Marathi, Urdu and Telugu. "Marathi serves as the main local medium of intergroup communication." It is also the literary language, although some villagers can write Urdu. "The major factor in language maintenance is that the local norms...require strict separation between public and private spheres of activity. A person's home is pretty much reserved for the members of his extended family and for close friends who tend also to be close relative... Speech in the home, especially to women and children, is exclusively in the home group language... The constant code-

1 Gumperz and Wilson in Dell Hymes (1971:151ff).

switching (1) by the daily interaction routine has had some far-reaching effects on local grammatical systems... A historical linguist would readily identify particular texts as from a deviant dialect of Kannada, Marathi or Urdu. What would be missed is that sentence-by-sentence comparison of natural conversation texts, in all three main local varieties, reveals an extraordinary degree of translatability, from one local utterance to another."

The strings offered in illustration show that, even though they are lexically distinct, they have "identical grammatical categories and identical constituent structures, making it possible to translate one sentence into another by simple morph for morph substitution". This argues for a convergent underlying structure, and so features not found in one of the languages will have to adapt, e.g.:

Gender

Urdu has a Mas./Fem. syntactic category.
 Marathi a 3 way syntactic distinction.
 Kannada a 3 way semantic system.
 Kupwar gender systems closely resemble those of Kannada and are semantically based.

Agreement V Aux. sequence

Urdu requires verb-tense agreement followed by auxiliary-tense and concord agreement.
 Kupwar varieties retain, as in Kannada, only one agreement marker on the auxiliary.

Borrowing in the Kupwar varieties confirms that if content word loans are more frequent, grammatical items can be adopted from one language into another:

"Marathi has a verb suffix -u which is used in constructions like ja-u-n-ko "don't go". The standard Urdu construction is the verb root plus sek-. All four Kupwar languages have the construction ub-u-syek(s)-."

1 Code is the variety used in social circumstances (work-home-cult). In this case the variety is a language.

The Kupwar case is relevant to our study for several reasons:

- . It is a case of long-standing multilingualism.
- . It involves communities of different religions: Jains, Moslems.
- . The villagers, while mixing in their public life, spent their home life in their own linguistic community.
- . It extends to all the inhabitants, from land-owners to labourers, including priests and craftsmen.

Therefore there are analogies to be drawn and verified within our geographical area: The Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and a little after, with its religious communities favouring isolation, in their private lives, from non-believers.

While the Kupwar comparative study brings to the fore the neglected area of convergence, it does not correspond to the degree of hybridization met in some of the Iberian varieties. Greenberg's sets of criteria are useful in that they showed objectively what change had taken place within the syntax between Vulgar Latin and daughter language Spanish. Yet a finer sifting device is required when comparing the languages for convergence, rather than searching common features across many languages.

The next step might be to list what is common and what is specific beyond Greenberg's frame of reference. Significant items would be: Semitic triconsonantality (1) and the Latin verbal system which Spanish has retained almost in its entirety. Arabic operates a different system altogether. It is aspectual

1 Levin (1971:705): "What marks out a language as Semitic is above all the triconsonantal root, built up into words by a great variety of prefixes, suffixes and internal patterns of vocalization", i.e. infixation which includes consonants and vowels in predictable combinations.

and its measure system introduces usually semantic distinctions:

qatala "he killed" I measure ::
'istaqtala "he defied death" X measure.

Relativization or branching from an N node, while present in both languages, generates relative clauses of a different nature (1) discussed in a later chapter. Partially similar characteristics, as the example just given, and enclitic morphemes, to give another, are equally difficult to cater for within a theoretical framework, as irreconcilable differences.

6.3 Feature analysis

A further consideration is that no direct appeal is possible to the speakers themselves since we are discussing a linguistic situation that prevailed centuries ago. It was deemed necessary to compare, as far as possible, texts in the same style, written for the same purpose, in our attempt to reach the spoken varieties (2). Consequently, we are not so much interested in standard linguistic habits as in deviancy from the ideal models. Our approach is a feature analysis. The features are parameters to be seen as check-points in the linguistic continuum. A feature is either present or absent and change of state reflects potential change in the syntax. The sum of the present and absent features represents the "spectrum", as it were, of a text. Some criticism will be levied at this "all or nothing" result. Since we are more concerned with the data than with symmetry in the framework,

1 Cf. Comrie (1971:135ff).

2 Politzer (1961:209): "Systematic deviations from the standard are basically capable of only one interpretation: influence or interference from the spoken language."

the results have been, at times, qualified with "a few, very few" and other remarks. Furthermore we have added to the stark feature analysis that informs this study, some comments that might be of interest to a few specialists, even if they are not the majority. The aim then is to quantify change, convergence and the resulting divergence from the mainstream drift, as well as deviancy from standard dialect.

The main difficulty is the recognition of significant parameters. The features were chosen in relation with the above discussion:

1. Word order: relative position of subject, verb and object (1).
2. Nature of derivation.
3. Case morphs: Latin and Classical Arabic have case systems. Any evidence of loss is relevant.
4. Articles: The definite article, otherwise invariable except for assimilation, is common to all Spanish Arabic dialects. The definite article, in Latin-based grammars, is a Romance innovation and is accompanied, at a later date, by an indefinite article. Hence the definite articles are not isomorphic.
5. Particles appear or extend their domain in the dialects of both languages when feature '2 tends to \emptyset .
6. V deletion exists in both languages. Its scope is wider in Romance.
7. Systematic coordination is so frequent in Spanish

1 Dezső (1982:241): "The metalanguage of observation of typology should have the same terms with the same interpretation in the vocabulary of all typologists." Feature 1 is compatible with Greenberg and Dezső typologies.

Arabic texts as to be a characteristic of these varieties.

8.-12. Subordination: These features are a selection of frequent Arabic patterns, with the exception of V li V. Other patterns could have been selected for the same purpose. V li V occurs in Valencian Arabic (1) and the aim was to check whether the pattern had extended itself to other dialectal areas. Absence of the feature reinforces the claim that it represents a dialectal variant. Romance equivalents are V que (Ke); otrosí que V; si V (impf.sub); para V; como V (2).

13.-15. Relativization: lladĩ (Mas.):llatĩ (Fem.) require syntactic gender agreement in the selection of relative markers. Relative clauses are language specific. They differ in nature, i.e. in Romance preposition rel. marker [NV] is possible, not so in Arabic.

No. of nested clauses refers to the average number of embedded clauses in relation to simple clauses. This entry, together with negation (features 16 to 18) affords a measure of complexity. Nested clauses and negative sentences are innately more complex than simple clauses and affirmative strings.

Borrowing refers firstly to lexical borrowing. The implication that lexical borrowing must be substantial before syntactical borrowing takes place.

The set of features appears to be biased towards Arabic, as all of them are present in Arabic and not in the Latin-based grammars. The point is if they did appear in the latter

1 Barceló Torres (1980).

2 Weinreich (1970:39): "If the bilingual identifies a morpheme or grammatical category of language A with one in language B, he may apply the B form in grammatical functions which he derives from the system of A. What leads the bilingual to establish the interlingual equivalence of the morphemes or categories is either their FORMAL SIMILARITY or a SIMILARITY IN THE PRE-EXISTING FUNCTIONS."

one would be analysing a variety of Arabic and what is being looked for is how close a Romance variety is to Arabic and how close an Arabic variety is to Romance with the resulting loss of Arabic specific features.

6.4 Levels of abstraction

One may query the constant references to the underlying structure in the analysis of the texts. There is a need to go beyond the linear concatenation of linguistic units, of which every string is a random selection, to find out, at a further level of abstraction, the syntactic processes that govern the syntax. Once this exploration is done, one is free to return to the surface structure to observe, from a standpoint, the resulting detail which is essential to the study. It is impossible to think of the underlying structure without taking the data as it stands - we cannot appeal to the intuitions of the native speaker! - and equally to consider the detail without some generalization, involving a degree of abstraction. The levels referred to are:

The surface structure, represented by the Latin-based texts as they are spelt, and the Arabic texts, transliterated with supporting vowels and case morphs whenever they are signalled in the manuscript. The reader is free to overlook final tā' marbūṭa and hā' (Fem. morph) if he^{/she} wishes; they have been left in as they appear in the MS, taking into account that, on occasion, one is dealing with Aljamiado, where they have a different function. This means that the transliteration reflects a level of greater abstraction than the Romance texts. This is unavoidable. We are not dealing with standard literary Arabic, but approximations to this

ideal. There is little way of determining to what extent they conform with regard to case. On occasion we have used edited material; the case morphs are kept as they appear in these versions. However it is important to remember that they were reconstructed on the basis of different criteria.

The underlying structure is formed by 3 components: the predicate: V; the nominal component: N; and the invariant component: I. These generate items - the slot fillers - into the surface structure in the guise of words with specific syntactic functions. The predicate is realized as a verbal form; the nominal items as substantives (nouns and adjectives); invariants as link words (particles, conjunctions).

Rule I: The generated items of the two first components undergo morphemic alternations.

Rule II: Items from the two components may be deleted or non-generated into the surface structure.

Rule III: Word order and deletion are simultaneous.
Arabic-specific subrules:

- . Verbal forms and substantives are commonly triconsonantal (Triliteral root). Invariants are not.
- . The article l- is invariable in Arabic; its function is to mark a substantive for definiteness. On this basis, it is considered a prefix morph. The phonetic assimilation of l- to initial dental confirms this assumption, e.g.:
l-dār ----→ d-dār "the house".

. Canonical word order in Arabic is as follows:

[(I) V (I) (N) ([N or I) V (I) (N)]]

[...] = clause; (...) = optional

6.5 The data

The data is almost always from datable material. The emphasis of the study is on the spoken varieties, for they are more susceptible to dialectal variation than standard dialects. These, by definition, reduce divergent features since they function as koiné. Courtly prose and poetry have largely been avoided. They are written in standard and their purpose is aesthetic unless it could be proved otherwise, i.e. poetry in vernacular, private correspondence, and in the last instance because there was no other source available. We have had to rely on legal documents; their main advantage is that they are dated. The reader may feel a priori that the language of these documents is largely conventional. This is so in the short term, but the drawback weakens in a century-to-century comparison; change catches up even with legal jargon. Moreover, contracts refer to material things, transactions and people. By Islamic Law every relevant fact must be explained until total comprehension is achieved for the interested parties, and it is this requirement that gives some justification to our choice. Let it be said, furthermore, that alternative relevant sources are, for the present, rather scarce and when they exist, they have been given priority.

Summing up, change, regional variation and borrowing have to be quantified in some way, and the approach taken is to establish a matrix of parameters and proceed to a feature analysis of the corpus, followed by a commentary of the "spectrum" of each text together with supplementary information.

PART III: A STUDY IN THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMARS
 OF ARABIC-BASED DIALECTS AND
 THEIR CONTACT WITH ^CAGAMĪ

CHAPTER SEVEN: ARABIC VARIETIES

The moment has come to look at the texts themselves and see what evidence there is for non-classical usage and within these divergent linguistic habits to ascertain what can be considered as forming part of Spanish Arabic, an umbrella term for non-differentiated dialects. We shall study as well mixed forms and borrowing and their syntactic insertion in the string.

The framework used will be that discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Feature analysis enables one to establish the spectrum, as it were, of a text representing a variety. The reader will recall the example of Maltese previously referred to and the potential weaknesses of this approach. The two most important are:

- . Any comparison or analysis stands or falls according to the validity of the parameters chosen.
- . The second obstacle to overcome is that of oral:register/
written:style, called by some: code. For a comparison to be valid, like must be compared with like: poetry with poetry, proverb with proverb, chronicle with chronicle. This simple statement conceals a nest of further difficulties:

. The available sources are limited in number and variety.

. The intentions of the authors have to be taken into account in determining register and style. This is all the more necessary in a contact situation. The conscious effort of non-standard speakers/writers to attain standard perfection is an essential variable of the situation; their relative degree of success is a fundamental aspect of this study. This last factor may seriously affect the texts themselves; therefore similarity of circumstances and purpose have been accepted as criteria in assessing the formal or colloquial style of a given text.

The following excerpts have been chosen for the information they can give us with regard to spoken varieties.

وَحَكَى الشَّيْخُ ابْنَ لُبَابَةَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَنْ مَنْ أَدْرَكَهُ مِنَ الشُّبُوحِ
 أَنْ أَرَدَ لُبَّاسٌ كَانَ مِنْ عُمَّلَاءِ الرِّجَالِ فِي أَمْرِ دُنْيَاهُ وَأَنَّهُ دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ
 عَشْرَةٌ مِنَ الشَّامِيِّينَ فِيهِمْ أَبُو عُثْمَانَ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ خُلْدٍ وَأَبُو عَبْدِ
 وَيُوسُفُ بْنُ بَخْتَرٍ وَالصَّبِيلُ بْنُ حَارِثٍ. فَلَمَّوْا وَجَلَسُوا عَلَى الْكَرَاسِيِّ
 الَّتِي حِطَّةٌ بِكَرْسِيِّهِ فَلَمَّا أَخَذُوا مَقَاعِدَهُمْ وَحَيًّا بَعْضُهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ دَخَلَ مَيْمُونُ
 الْعَلَيْدُ جَدُّ بَنِي حَزْمٍ الْبَوَائِيْنَ وَهُوَ أَحَدُ الْمَوَالِي الشَّامِيِّينَ فَلَمَّا رَأَى
 أَرَطْبَاسُ دَاخِلًا قَامَ إِلَيْهِ وَالتَّرَمَهُ وَجَمَلَ يَفُودُهُ إِلَى كُرْسِيِّهِ الَّذِي قَامَ
 مِنْهُ وَكَانَ مُصَدِّدًا بِالذَّهَبِ وَالْفِضَّةِ فَأَتَى الرَّجُلُ الصَّالِحُ مِنَ الْجُلُوسِ
 عَلَيْهِ وَقَالَ لَهُ لَا يَحِلُّ لِي هَذَا فَجَلَسَ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَجَلَسَ مَعَهُ ثُمَّ قَالَ
 لَهُ مَا جَاءَ بِبَيْتِكَ إِلَى مِثْلِي فَقَالَ لَهُ مَيْمُونُ قَدِمْنَا إِلَى هَذَا الْبَلَدِ وَظَنْنَا
 أَنْ نَوَافَا لَا يَطُولُ فِيهِ وَلَمْ نَسْتَعِدَّ لِلْمَقَامِ فَحَدَّثَ مِنْ الْأَضْطِرَابِ عَلَى
 مَوَالِينَا بِالْمَشْرِقِ مَا نَتَوَهَّمُ بِهِ أَنَا لَا نَعُودُ إِلَى مَوْضِعِنَا مَعَهُ وَقَدْ وَسَّعَ
 اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ فَأَرِيدُ أَنْ تُعْطِيَنِي ضَيْعَةً مِنْ ضَيَاعِكَ أَعْتَبِرَهَا بِيَدِي وَأُودِي
 إِلَيْكَ الْحَقَّ مِنْهَا وَآخُذْ الْحَقَّ فَقَالَ لَهُ أَرَطْبَاسُ لَا وَاللَّهِ مَا أَرْضَى أَنْ
 أُعْطِيَكَ ضَيْعَةً مُنَاصِفَةً وَدَعَا بِوَكِيلٍ لَهُ فَقَالَ لَهُ أَدْفَعْ إِلَيْهِ الْمَجْشَرَ الَّذِي
 عَلَى وَادِي شُوشٍ وَمَا فِيهِ مِنَ الْبَقَرِ وَالنَّمْرِ وَالْعَيْدِ وَأَدْفَعْ إِلَيْهِ الْقَلَمَةَ
 بِجَبَّانٍ وَهِيَ الْمَرْوُفَةُ بِقَلَمَةِ حَزْمٍ... فَشَكَرَ وَقَامَ وَعَادَ أَرَطْبَاسُ إِلَى

Ibn al-Qūṭīyya. Asín Palacios (1959: ٩-٨).

١ لي (Nichols (1979: ٤٦)
 ٢ على الأرض
 ٣ Ibid.

7.1.1 Under Arab rule: the Caliphate (929-1031 AD)

Among the earliest texts, a passage from Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's chronicle has been selected on three accounts: (i) Ibn al-Qūṭīyya was a grammarian of note (1); (ii) he was the epitome of the Andalusian élite, being of Arabic and Gothic noble descent; (iii) the passage itself contains a brief dialogue. Hence, it may be said to represent the formal register/style of Arabic speakers of Al-Andalus (c.970).

wa-ḥakā š-šayku bnu lubbābat raḥima-hu llāhu ^Can man
 'adraka-hu mina š-šuyūki 'anna 'arṭubāsa Kāna min
^Cuqal'ā'i r-rīḡāli fī-'amri dunyā-hu wa -'anna-hu daḡala
^Calay-hi ^Cašratun min š-šāmiyyīna fī-him 'abū ^Cuṭmān wa-
^Cabdu-llāhi bnu kulḍin wa-'abū ^Cabdat wa-yūsuf bnu
 baḡtin wa š-šumaylu bnu ḡātimin fa-sallamū wa-ḡalasū
^Calā l-karāsī l-muḡīṭati bi-kursiyyī-hi fa-lammā 'aḡaḡū
 maḡā^Cida-hum wa-ḡayyā ba^Cḡ -hum ba^Cḡan daḡala maymūnun
 l-^Cābidu ḡaddu banī ḡazmin l-bawwābīna wa-huwa 'aḡadu
 l-mawālī š-šāmiyyīna fa-lammā ra'ā-hu 'arṭubāsu dāḡilan
 qāma 'ilay-hi wa-ltazama-hu wa-ḡa^Cala yaqūdu-hu 'ilā
 kursiyyī-hi llāḡī qāma min-hu wa-kāna muṣammadan
 bi-ḡ-ḡahabi wa-l-fiḡḡati fa-'abrā r-raḡul š-šāliḡu mina
 l-ḡulūs ^Calay-hi wa qāla la-hu lā yaḡillu l-ī hāḡā
 fa-ḡalasa fī-l-'arḡi wa-ḡalasa ma^Ca-hu ṭumma qāla la-hu
 mā ḡa'ā'a bi-miṭlika 'ilā miṭl-ī fa-qāla la-hu maymūnu
 qadim-nā 'ilā hāḡā l-baladi wa-zanan-nā 'anna ṭawā'ā-nā
 lā yaṭūlu fī-hi wa lam nasta^Cidda li-l-maḡāmi fa-ḡadaṭa
 mina l-iṣṭrābi ^Calā mawālī-nā bi-l-mašriqi mā natawaha-hum
 bi-hi 'anā lā na^Cūdu 'ilā mawḡi^Ci-nā ma^Ca-hu wa qad
 wassa^Ca llāhu ^Calay-ka fa-'urīdu 'an tu^Cṭiyanī ḡay^Catan
 min ḡiyā^Cika 'a^Ctamiru-hā bi-yaḡ-ī wa-'uwadd-ī 'ilay-ka
 l-ḡaḡqa min-hā wa-'āḡudu l-ḡaḡqa fa-qāla la-hu 'arṭubāsu
 lā wa-llāhi mā 'arḡī 'an u^Cṭiya-ka ḡay^Catan munāṣafatan

1 Asín Palacios (1959: 1-1). Whether Ibn al-Qūṭīyya is or is not the author of Ta'rīk iftitāḡ al-ʿandalus, is irrelevant to the issue under discussion. See Map 1, p.xii.

wa-da^Cā bi-wakīlin la-hu fa-qāla la-hu dfa^C 'ilay-hi
 l-mağšara llaqī^C alā wādī šūšin wa-mā fī-hi min l-baqari
 wa-l-ğanami wa-l-^Cabīdi wa-dfa^C 'ilay-hi l-qal^Cata
 bi-ğayyānī wa -hiya l-ma^Crūfatu bi-qal^Cati ħazmin.

Translation

Sheik Ibn Lubbaba - May God have mercy on him! - would say that of all the sheiks he knew Artobas was the wisest of men in worldly matters and that five Syrians called on him [one day] and they were Abu^C Uthman, ^CAbdallāh Ibn Khuld, Abu^C Abda, Yusuf Ibn Bakht and el-Sumayl Ibn Khatim; then they greeted him and sat down on the chairs around his seat and when they had taken up their seats and spoken to each other, Maymon the Pious, the forefather of the Banū Ĥazm, the gatekeepers - he was one of the clients of the Syrians - came in. So when Artobas saw him arriving, he got up and took it upon himself to lead him to his own seat which stood among them?; it was decorated with gold and silver. Yet the good man refused to sit upon it and said to him: "This is not right for me", and so he sat down on the ground and Artobas joined him. Then he said to him: "What has brought the likes of you to the likes of me?" Maymun said to him: "We have come to this land and we have considered not staying long neither have we made any preparations for settling. Yet disturbances have occurred to our clients in the east and we think on account of this we shall not be returning to our place [of origin] with this. God has been bountiful with you so I want you to give me one of your estates; I will cultivate it with my hands and give you for it [your] due and keep [my] due." Artobas spoke to him in this fashion: "No, for God's sake! I do not wish to give you an estate in partnership." He called one of his stewards and said to him: "Give him the big farm that is by Guadajoz with its cows and sheep and slaves and give him the fort of Jaen," and it came to be known as Fort Ĥazm.

Comments

Among the premises stated, we mentioned first that the predictable word order in Arabic was:

[(I) V (I) (N) ... ([I V (I) (N)]) ([N V (I) (N)])]

[] = clause () = optional

Comparing part of the above text:

wa-ḥakā š-šayku bnu lubbābat raḥima-hu llāhu^C an man 'adraka-
 [I V N [V N N] I N [V

hu mina š-šuyūki 'anna 'arṭubāsa kāna min^C uqal 'ā 'i r-riḡāli
 I N] [I N V I N

fī 'amri dunyā-hu
 I N]]

Reversals do occur as stylistic devices, but they are unusual; here in the proportion of 3:1.

Secondly, we held that words derived from the N and V components differed from those originating from I components on two accounts:

i) They have triliteral root forms:

V = Ḥ K Y ḥakā "say, tell"

R Ḥ M raḥima "have mercy"

N = Š Y K šayk "sheik"

' M R 'amr "matter"

These particular roots may generate in turn a number of forms; this possibility is characteristic of Arabic and any loss of this faculty in a variety would indicate a degree of divergence from standard Arabic (koiné), e.g.:

raḥima raḥmān raḥīm

šayk šuyūk

ii) They undergo morphemic alternations; these are realized as appended morphs, functioning as case markers in (N) and person and aspect markers in (V):

šayk-un "a sheik", subject; šayk-aṇ "a sheik" object

š-sayk-u "the sheik" subject; š-sayk-a "the sheik" object

ǧalasa "he sat"; ǧalasū "they sat (masc.)"

and as infixed morphs in predictable patterns:

N = RaRØR where R = radical; this pattern alternates with

RuRÜR indicating the mark of the plural.

V = RaRaRa contrasts with RuRiRa, the passive.

In the text we have the combination of both systems:

mina š-šuyūki

R R R

u ū

/l/-->s

mina

Ri

----> plural

----> definiteness

----> oblique case "from the sheiks"

Invariants

The words derived from invariant components have typically other than triliteral roots and are not subject to morphemic alternation:

I = w wa "and"

M N mina "from"

' N 'an "that"

The deleted verb

In circumstances other than the perfective aspect, the surface verb may be deleted or non-generated from the V component. Conversely, when a string refers to a past or completed event, there is always a verb in the surface structure which, if the above explanation is not accepted, would involve complex rules to justify its occurrence:

wa-mā fī-hi min l-baqari "what in it of cows"

in the perfective aspect would be

wa-mā kāna fī-hi min l-baqari
[I N V I N I N]

Therefore it is assumed that there is a deleted or non-generated verb in the previous instance:

wa-mā fī-hi min l-baqari
[I N V-→∅ I N I N]

Let us focus on the relative clause construction or its equivalent in Arabic. Opinions are divided as to whether this concept can be said to exist in Arabic in the sense we know it in English, e.g.:

raḥima-hu llāhu
V N N

can be seen as a sentence in apposition, "May God grant him mercy!" or as a relative clause with a deleted noun followed by V+hu,

In discussing mixed language forms it is necessary to clarify the degree of complexity measured in terms of the number of embedded clauses in either parent language if we are to verify the hypothesis stated in 5.3 and 5.4 that creole/pidgins are simpler structures.

An utterance may be of one clause, from full stop to full stop or equivalent to equivalent pause, and it may be of more than one clause. The next clause either follows on the same principle or is linked to the first clause producing an expansion. Expansion should be seen as the first stage in complexity, that is, an addition to the initial unit. It may take any of three forms:

i) Coordination. In Arabic wa V, but if the wa coordination marker is collocated with fa which introduces semantic distinction, a comment on the result of a series of events, there is a further step in complexity preceding the next stage, subordination.

ii) Subordination. It is an expansion which concerns the V component of the initial clause, in the form of an embedded or nested clause.

iii) Relativization. This is an expansion linked to an N component again in the form of a nested clause.

An embedded clause may contain another and so on. Moreover, subordination and relativization materialize in a limited set of patterns. The larger the set, the more specific each pattern; the smaller the set, the vaguer, the more ambiguous each pattern. Therefore large sets of patterns increase the structural complexity of a language.

This is not to say that many other factors should not be considered when analysing apparent cases of mixed language

forms. The point made here is that it is necessary to measure in some way the complexity of the passage from Ibn al-Qūṭiyya:

. Coordination.

wa ... fa

wa- da^Cā bi-wakīlin la-hu fa-qāla la-hu
[I V I N I N][I V I N]

"and he called a steward of his and spoke to him thus"

. Subordination.

V 'an

fa 'urīdu 'an tu^Cṭiya-nī
[I V [I V]]

"Thus I want (you) to give me"

. Relativization.

mā V

wa mā fī-hi min l-baqari
[I N V→∅ N I N]

"and what there is of cows"

llaḡī V

l-maḡsara llaḡī^C alā wādī šūšin
N [N V→∅ I N]

"the farm that is by Guadajoz"

. Average number of nested clauses to total number of clauses:

1 to 2.

Finally two last comments. Negation appears in a variety of patterns. With the exception of the foreign name Artobas, there is not a single Romance loan in the text. The spectrum of the text in terms of features is as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Word order V S O | + |
| 2. | Derived forms from RRR | + |
| 3. | Case ending morphs | + |
| 4. | Deviant articles from classical usage | - |
| 5. | Particles expand domain | - |
| 6. | V---→∅ deletion | + |
| 7. | <u>wa...fa</u> coordination | + |
| 8. | <u>V 'an</u> subordination | + |
| 9. | V li V | - |
| 10. | V ^C alā 'an | - |

11.	law V	-
12.	<u>kamā</u> V	+
13.	<u>mā</u> V	+
14.	<u>llaḍī</u> V	+
15.	<u>llatī</u> V	-
No.	of nested clauses	1 to 2
16.	<u>mā</u> (neg.) V	+
17.	<u>lā</u> V	+
18.	<u>lam</u> V	+
19.	Romance borrowing	- or ∅

Total: 11 present features out of 19.

To be sure, there were other varieties besides the type we have just seen, to judge by the interest there was in the state of the language. Many treatises were written, some describing and explaining literary usage (cf. Abū ^CAlī al-Qālī, Ibn Sīda); others seeking to correct Vulgar Arabic forms that were making their way into literature, e.g. Lahn al ^Cawām by az-Zubaydī (918-989), and a subsequent criticism of it: Kitāb r-radd (1) or Kitāb al maḍkal (2) by Ibn Hishām. Perhaps we should not take too seriously the excuses made by Ibn Sīda in his introduction to the al-Muḥaṣṣas, but the reason he gives, as Ribera noted, is one of the very few trustworthy accounts we have, corroborating the status of Romance as being more than the idiom of a small minority:

"How can I avoid making mistakes as I write, in these times [C11] so distant [from when Arabic was spoken correctly] when I have to live with people who speak ^CAgamī [or Romance]." (3)

Strangely, it was in poetry that the changes in the status of Classical Arabic as the official language of al-Andalus were the most obvious. A new genre was gaining in popularity, the muwašṣaḥa, rounded off by a quatrain called karḡa or markaz

- 1 MS No.46 (Cat.Derenbourg) Escorial. The value of these treatises is discussed further in 7.2.
- 2 MS No.99 (Cat.Derenbourg). Díaz García (1973:58).
- 3 Ribera (1928:110 note), Al-muḥaṣṣas I:14-Cairo.

in vulgar speech; its creation is traced back to Muqaddam of Cabra, a contemporary more or less of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya. None of his poems survives, but Ibn Bassām mentions in the Dakīra that if some of the lines were short verses of the usual type, most of them were in careless metre, in the vulgar speech of the ignorant (1). A variation of the muwaššaha is the zaḡal, similar in form to the first, but daringly composed entirely in popular idiom. Ibn Quzmān is the most prolific and the best known exponent of this type of poetry; his verses in vernacular will be considered at greater length in 7.2.

7.1.2 Conclusion

Before Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's chronicle, there are few texts one can consult that would bring anything new to our study of the spoken varieties. It is quite possible that continuous unrest (raiding parties and civil strife) was not conducive to much writing (2). We know that vast regions had been handed over to the Berbers (see Chapter 1), who spoke different dialects and used Arabic as a lingua franca. Little seems to have survived of their culture. Apart from the Moslems, there were a great number of other Arabic speakers: the Jews and the Mozarab Christians. Suffice it to say that Arabic was replacing Aramaic and even Hebrew for Talmudic exegesis and responsa. In trade and science, Arabic was the common language of all.

A similar development occurred in the Christian community. If one is to believe the Church elders, Eulogio and Alvaro,

1 González Palencia (1945:117).

2 Schack and Valera (1881) argue for oral ballads in the Rawī tradition.

the flock was not only bilingual but more proficient in Arabic than in Latin. What became of the literary production referred to by Alvaro? Did it exist and was it destroyed as the result of intolerant policies? (1) Or were they painting an exaggerated picture for apologetic reasons. What survives is:

. Recemundo Rabī^C Ibn Zayd al-Usqūf al-Qurtubī's. Book of Seasons. Ed. Dozy (1873) Le calendrier de Cordoue de l'année 961.

. Glossarium Latino Arabicum. The first dictionary for those languages. Ed. Seybold (1900).

. risālat š-šū^Cūbiyyat by Abu^C Amir Ibn Garsia (c.1050).

. Several scientific treatises.

. Religious works: the Arabic translation of the Psalter by Hafs Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī al-Qurtubī(2). Codice Canonico Escorialense by Vicencio (c. 1049) with Arabic glosses (3).

What supports Alvaro's claim is that a number of Jews and Christians were employed in the administration and in the army (4). Only their exceptional skills and proficiency in the official language can explain their privileged position, which was abhorrent to orthodox Moslems.

The period in Al-Andalus up to the end of the Caliphate should be seen as the time when the greatest tolerance prevailed; whatever the religion all could express themselves in the language of their cultural heritage. Arabic - referred to in the most formal registers as Classical Arabic (5) - and

1 Steiger (1933:3) comments that the Arabization of the people of Spain is one of the most mysterious events in the social

2 Dunlop (1955). /development of the peninsula.

3 Casiri, Bibliografía (I:541).

4 ~~Idem~~ Cagigas (1948:II:383), Ibn^C Idārī: Bayān III.

5 E.I.: "^CArabiyya", according to Fück's classification, it would be Ancient Middle Arabic (1971:569).

to a lesser extent Latin, were used as linguae francae whenever the need arose.

However, there are signs at this time that a change was taking place, the exact nature of which is still uncertain. There is always a certain delay between oral innovations and their appearance in writing. This is in fact a constant law in Historical Linguistics. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya and Muqaddam represent the end of a period and the beginning of another.

Although we have little evidence to support the presence of divergent forms in vulgar Arabic regional varieties, particularly at the syntactic level, one can imagine that the varieties of Qays and Kalb may have survived in Al-Andalus even though they originated in the Arabic peninsula (1).

1 Pérès (1950:293). He mentions that "the Yemeni variety seems to have been more dominant". Al-Manṣūr reorganised the army in C10 and broke the tribal recruiting system to end feuds. Any evidence would have to be earlier and documents are very rare.

7.2.1 Under Berber rule: the Empire (1091-1212 AD)

The next two excerpts are from the autobiography of King ʿAbd Allāh of Granada. The author was a Berber prince, one of the few with any literary inclinations if one compares them to the rulers of Arabic descent. He wrote his "memories" in exile, in the years that followed this new invasion (1091), for his own solace rather than for an audience. We may assume that his style, although formal, is somewhat free of the literary conventions found in ʿadab.

I. Fol. 48a:

wa-bi-ka wātiq ġayr ʿanna-k qad ġaʿalt l-ī bi-qawli-k
 hādā l-ḥir-ṣ ʿal-ī hādā l-māl mā ʿurīd ʿan tuʿlimanī mim-
 man yaqbiḍ faʿinn-ī lā ʿakādu ʿan ʿuṣaddiqa-h lʿaḥtiyāġī
 ʿilā mā naḥnu- bi-mablag min n-nfaqāti wa-iqāmat hādā
 l-ġayṣ kulla ʿāmin. fa-ġaʿala yusamm-ī l-ī aqwāman lā
 yaʿširu-hum fī l-kayr wa-l-faḍl wa-qaddama dīkr ṣāḥib
 lʿaḥbās ibn Salmūn wa-tasabbaba ʿilayya bi-wasm l-ʿaḥbāsī
 wa-ġayr-h-m mim-man lam yanal min-hum ʿillā ṭ-ṭāʿat
 wa-n-naṣīḥat. fa-qult fī nafsī llāhu ʿakbaru mā quṣida
 hādā ʿillā ʿilā haḍi-h l-ḥāṣiyat li-nā wa-li- ʿabāʿi-nā [sic]
 ʿillā wa-huwa yurīd ʿifrāda-nā dūna-h-m li-yatamakkān bi?-
 mā ṣaʿ wa-lā naġidu ṣadiqan nastariḥu ʿilay-h maʿa mā
 tabayyan min anfāsi-h ... maqātiʿi-h wa-aḡraḍi-h l-
 qātilat - "wa-lʿaynu tubṣiru fī ayna-y muḥadditi-hā

ʿin kāna min hizbi-hā ʿaw min ʿaʿādī-hā"

wa-ġaʿala yaṭlub banī s-sunaydī wa-l-katabat wa-ġayr-h-m
 [I v [v n I N I N
 mim-man qad ʿiṣṭanaʿā ʿamānath
 I [N v [v]]]]
 tumma qāla lī kulla marāyata minā s-sulṭāni fī...(1)

1 García Gómez (1980:60) facsimile of original text, Mudakkirāt al-amīr ʿAbd Allāh, ākir mulūk Banī Zīrī bi-Garnāta (469-483 AH) MSS Qarawiyyīn collection, Fez. For period, see Map 2, p.xiii.

وقد واقر غنى ائتد قل جعلت له نقولا هذا: الذي من هذا الما
 اريد ان يخلصه من يقسم عليه كالكاد ان اضره كذا على الملحوم
 من النعماء واقامة هذا العيش كل صلح جعل له اي اعد لها انتم هم
 من العيش والفضل وفهم بكر طلب كل حرام من اهل بيتي ومشتبه
 كل نفس وعينهم من لم يزل منهم انا الكلمة والصحة فقلست في نفسي الله
 انكم ما تضر من انا هذه العاشية لنا وانا بنا انا وهو يد افرادنا
 منوه لبيك بما ولعل حريته نشترع اليه مع ما يقدر من انما به
 بما حبه وعمر احمه الفاجلة

والعين تنهت في حين محروبا ان كان من حيا او من العباد
 وحمل يطلب به الشئيد والكتبه وعينهم من فر اخذت
 ما منه قال لي كل راية من الشكوت في الجاهل
 ما عينا ان جعل الحماة والعين دانت
 اني علم محبة الله ان ما

ملوط لا نزل من وأمنع من لعله للما يهين بعث النصارى وفوت الشهر افس
 امتزج كما قال يحيى بن يعقوب لما ان تفص بلائهم به اخبر عتبة له اليه يحيى
 فقال اريد ان يبع به او يفر من مال من فرور من اولئك كسبها وان يترها له افسلا وقت
 افسلا به في موضع عتبة فيه اطلع سوز والفقيد يحيى بن يعقوب واما في الشهر
 ولما كان خريفه على مكناسه لغينا به فلقين من انا ملسو وتغننا به وهو
 على تلك الحال فرسقى بالهكبل لعله ما يفران من طرده به ولا وجهه لك
 غاوم من الشتم وان افسلا طلقه ربهوا عليه حسنرا افعلا فيية وانا دى
 سبعة اشراخا اليهم على ما ذكر ما تبعت لاسباب ولم يرد كلامي لخرمانا
 سبعة الى ان وصل الشوم وروى به امير المسلمين بالبريد وبالعقيد الشرايه
 وكان في يدها مقهور عجز عن العيش ويؤمن افسه الى وكلاء الشوم فيرب
 وحاز انصار امير المسلمين الى بلاد بلالعه وقوة بقران الهكبل ما شاء من افسان
 عتاد وصاحب السرايا وغنم له كجور من منما بلغنا منها ما ينبله العقل ما يظلم
 الجنان ونحسب من انهم قبيحا يفتنهم في كسار ما افسلا في امورهم فاشا من
 يفسر عن يمين ولا يفسد به ولا يقات عتاكيل النهاب فيفسد مضور من
 ومورد ما علم ان الذي يفسد فيه افسلا واكثر من التيقاد ما كثر من افسلا
 لعله السالمة في ما لم يقيننا منها واشغل حوالها لعله ما يفسد ان فيفسد ما
 جمع ونحسب فوامنا من الوقت انهم من كثر ما يفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد
 لنا ان نرسل عجز لم جلينه بلالعه فيفسد وعجز فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد
 الموا في كاتيه وافر ككاز امير المسلمين فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد
 عزا افسلا ونال له افسلا وجل ما فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد فيفسد

Translation:

"I trust you, except that you have brought about in me with your words desire for this wealth that I would like to know from whom I might get it." Indeed I could hardly believe him, for great was our need of money for the expenses and the upkeep of the army, every year. And so he began to name people that were not like him in merit and honesty and the first he mentioned was the Custodian of Religious Property, Ibn Salmūn, branding him for his administration and others from whom I received nothing but good advice. I said to myself: "Good God! He has no other aim but to attack those who have been with us and our forefathers and he wishes to isolate us from them to achieve his purposes and leave us without a single companion on whom to rely; this much seems obvious from his deeds and his deadly plans. -The eye can see at a glance if his [the listener's] look is that of a friend or foe.-" He set about the Banū Sunayd, the secretaries and others I had established and trusted. Then he said "every report from the Sultan [Yūsuf Ibn Tašufin] about...

The complex patterns of syntactic expansion are the most arresting feature of this text. Some strings have up to three embedded clauses, i.e. the one but last, with the preferred structure: I (negative) V to express more forcefully V:

V [emphasis].(1)

lam yanal min-hum 'illā t-tā'at	"from whom I had received
yusammī ... lā ya'širuhum	nothing but good advice"
mā quṣida hādā 'illā 'ilā haḍih	"he has no other aim but
	to attack those"

Others are embedded under an N node component:

hādā l-māl mā 'urīd ... mim-man yaqbiḍ
N [N V [V]]

"this wealth that I would like ... how to get it"

With regard to the anaphoric pronoun hu, referring back to N node or antecedent, in Classical Arabic, one would expect it after 'urīdu, V--hu: hādā l-māl mā 'urīd

N [N V] ∅

1 Huffman (1977:27) has studied the borrowing of this high frequency pattern into C13 Romance.

Word order conforms to the expected pattern: VSO

[(I) V (I) (N) ([(N) V])]

Morphemic alternations: case endings are maintained as required in the most formal styles:

ṣadīqan

minā s-sultānī

Whereas the first quotation includes some direct speech, the second passage is narrative, in contrast with the former.

II. Fol. 66a:

mulūk l-ʿandalusi wa-ʿasʿada min aḡlih l-murābiṭīn bi-ʿamin
 l-baṣʿaīr wa- kawayat š-šahawāt wa-mtaddat l-ʿāmāl bi-ḥaytu
 yanbagī lahā ʿan taqṣur fa-lammā muḡiʿa? bi-h...(1) faḡʿatan
 [I [I V I N] V?
 li-ʿallā yašʿura bi ḡayb l-mālī llaḡī t-tuhima bi-h. ʿaw
 [I I(neg) V I N [N V I N] [I
 yafīrra wa-nāla min qarūr hawānan kaṭīran wa-lam yatrūk
 V]]]
 la-h šayʿan wa-bīʿat ašyāʿu-h fī mawḡi maḥallati-hi
 qayyama/la-hā tumma sūqan wa-ulḡiya fī ḥadīd wa-ūšrifa
 ʿilā s-sūsī wa-lammā kāna ṭarīq-h ʿalā mīknāsah laḡīna-hu
 fa-ʿakbara bi-hawl mā qāsā wa-baṣurnā bi-h wahwa ʿalā tilka
 l-ḥāl. qad šaqā bi-l-kabl li-ṣiḡam h lā yaqdir ʿan
 yataḥarrak bi-h wa-ʿawḡaba dālīka mā wasīma bi-h min
 š-šarr wa anna ʿahl māliqat rafaʿū ʿalay-h ḥiqdan ʿafʿālan
 qabīḥatan wa-ʿayādī sayyiʿatan ʿasrāhā ʿilay-him ʿalā mā
 dukīra fa-t-tafaqat l-ʿasāb wa-lam yuraddid l-ʿamīr akḡa-h
 ʿillā bayyinat ʿilā ʿanwaṣala s-sūsa fa-waṣṣā bi-h ʿamīr
 l-muṣlīmīn ʿilā bazlaf wa-bālaḡa fī ʿikrāmī-h wa-kāna
 māʿah fī ʿāfiyat wa-raḡid min l-ʿayši wa-fuwwiḡa ʿamr-h
 ʿilā wulāt s-sūs baʿd bazlaf...(2)

y: vowel in Ms.

- 1 Undecipherable: naḡīz, perhaps.
- 2 García Gómez (1980:61) for facsimile

Translation

[They were all plots against] the rulers of al-Andalus which would benefit the Almoravides - his mental perception dulled, his appetites awoke, his expectations grew, when it would have been desirable to limit them. Indeed, no sooner he [the author's brother] became unreliable, they detained him suddenly that he might not hide the money they accused him of having nor escape. He received the greatest humiliations from Qarur who left him without a thing. His possessions were sold at a sale set up in the place where they encamped. After he was chained and sent to al-Sus. As Meknes was on his way, I/we were able to see him and he told me of the woes he had suffered. I saw him weak on account of that condition - he was distressed because of the irons that were large and hindered his movements and also on account of being submitted to accusations made out of malice. Since the people of Malaga had lodged a complaint against him for damages and infamous deeds, everything was coming to a head to the satisfaction of the Emir who wanted to arrest him but not without proof. He reached al-Sus. Thus the Prince of the Faithful entrusted him to Bazlaf who endeavoured to be kind, take good care of him and treat him to carefree life and he was entrusted by order to the governors of al-Sus that came after Bazlaf.

In common with the first excerpt, the subordination process is of great complexity, with embedded clauses of a similar nature: [...V [I V...]] , [...N [N V]]. See example in text for multiple nested clauses.

Whereas in text 1 there was recurrence of

I(neg) V ----> V [stylistic emphasis]

absent in text 2 except perhaps for:

lam yuraddid l-'amīr akdah 'illā bayyinat
[I(neg) V N [V I(neg) N]]

Text 2 shows multiple instances of I(bi) N N expressing a causative meaning as an alternative to IV measure, found also in text 1:

bi-amin l-baṣ 'āīr

bi-ḡaybi l-māli

The overspecification of the roles with the use of

bi-h or la-hā in:

yataḥarrak bi-h

waṣṣā bi-h

qayyama la-hā

coincides with an expansion of the semantic domain of bi-h :

bi-h = la-h , i.e. possession

that is, IN often substitutes for the enclitic -hu: wasīma bi-h confirming the trend leading to the disappearance of enclitic N.

It would be of interest to compare the two illustrated examples we have so far of formal style, with the proviso that Ibn al-Qūṭiyya and King ʿAbd Allāh considered they were expressing themselves in this register, e.g. the absence of na-V (imperfective) in 1st person, and given that they are representative of their age. The exercise should elicit any language change in the period from 970 to 1090 AD in al-Andalus.

The framework chosen is that of features 1-19. A high incidence of the features indicates a text in the formal register of an Arabic dialect.

Diachronic table of features from C10 to C11

Features	Ibn Qūṭiyya (c.970)	ʿAbd Allāh (c.1091)
1. Word order: VSO	+	+
<u>Morphemic alternations</u>		
2. Derived forms: RRR	+	+
3. Case ending morphs	+	+
4. Articles	-	-
5. Particles	-	+
6. V ----> ∅	+	+
<u>Expansion</u>		
7. Wa [] fa [] coordination	+	+
<u>Subordination</u>		
8. Vʿan	+	+
9. V li V	-	-
10. V ʿala ʿan	-	-
11. law V	-	-
12. kamā V	-	-

<u>Relativization</u>		
13. mā V	+	+
14. llaḍī V	+	+
15. llatī V	-	-
Average No. of nested clauses per string	1-2	3
<u>Negation</u>		
16. mā V	+	+
17. lā V	+	+
18. lam V	+	+
Romance Borrowing	→ ∅	-
TOTAL	11/19	12/19

Change

Any change must be tentatively assessed. The greater complexity in expansion and subordination, reflected also by an increase in the number of embedded clauses per string, in ^CAbd Allāh's prose may be of a stylistic nature or idiosyncratic. Two points are worth making: (i) The greater propensity towards using bi- N N, in the second text, may indicate the beginning of a process affecting the particles. These eventually diversify and extend their domain (or uses/ functions). (ii) There are no Romance loans.

7.2.2 The Vernacular

The great novelty at this time is the appearance of vulgar Arabic varieties in writing, in spite of the fact that this is confined to certain genres such as poetry and collections of popular sayings. The deliberate choice of the vernacular as against the formal language, as in the case of Ibn Quzmān (1086?-1160) illustrates more than anything else the new spirit of the age (1). The reader will recall the comments made by Ibn Bassām, a contemporary writer, who said that Andalusians, although accurate in writing, spoke ungrammatically when talking (2). Clearly a break had occurred with

1 García Gómez in Corriente (1977:XV).

2 Ibn Bassām (5.1), confirmed by Ibn Sa^Cid, a later writer (C13) in Al-Maqqarī (1843:142).

the past, people had ceased to use, as in the Middle East, the more formal registers (Classical Arabic) in speech, even though a small minority, compared to former times, retained some knowledge of the grammar for the purposes of writing.

It is a happy coincidence that the karğa and the zağal were composed in the vernacular. Arabic script is opaque as to vowel quality. This new poetry reveals, in its deviance from the usual metric patterns, the systematic change that was taking place in speech from a vowel length to a word stress distinction and the study of the rhymes has brought to light many Romance loans which in turn have confirmed the nature of the vowels in the Arabic vernacular, as for instance in the fourth karğa below.

The Karğa

The last quatrain of the muwaššaha, the karğa (sometimes referred to as the markaz), was a sort of literary pirouette in complete contrast to the rest of the poem. As Ibn Sanā' l-Mulk explains (1), this verse could be written in the language of the people "Luğat al-laḥn", or even in a non-Arabic idiom "luğat al-šağam". The great majority of existing karğas are in some variety of Arabic; nevertheless about seventy-odd have been found containing mixed forms, of which the following are typical examples:

1 Dār atṭirāz fī amālī l-muwaššahat MS Leyden No. 2 407
Fol.8-10.

(a): "anā qul cuco lēs billāh tadhūqo;

Wesh kân dahānī wesh kân balānī

Wesh kân da 'ānī nubaddil ḥabībī thānī"(1)

(sh=/š/, th=/ṭ/)

Ibn 'Ubāda l-Mālaqī (c.1090)

is an example of the former, while:

(b): "bnḍ l-bšqh 'ywn šn l

lšrand mw qr'wn brl

(ŷ = /ğ/)

transliteration:

beniḍ la pasqa ay aun sin elle

lasrando meu qoraŷun por elle

Abū Bakr Ibn Baqī (c.1145) (2)

is entirely in 'Aḡamī.

(c): "y'f'tn 'f'tn

wš yntr'd

k nḍ r ḥ l-š q k'rḍ"

(ḥ = /k/)

transliteration:

ya fātin a fātin

woš y entraḍ

k[u]anḍ raḥa al-siq[q]keriḍ

Anonymous, from 'Uddat al-
ḡalīs by Ibn Bušra (3)

Here we see some mixed forms that occur in this type of poetry, the percentage of which may be one loan word to the entire verse. The karḡa differs in this from the zaḡal, where the percentages are never so high. The next quotation is an illustration of a parallel development in Spanish Hebrew poetry with the same alternation of the formal with the vernacular:

- 1 Stern (1974:39). Translation: "I say, sly one, by God! Why not taste? What forced me? What put me to the test? What called me to change one love for another?"
- 2 García Gómez (1975:162-3). Translation: "Come Easter, my heart is torn, for without her I mourn."
- 3 Sola Solé (1973:34). Translation: "Come in, my love, with your charm, when from toil you need a rest."

[(I) V (I) N (I) (N)...]

whereas Latin has: [(I) (N)... V]. A common form in Spanish Romance is: [V (I) (N)], a trend still constant in modern Spanish. Similarity between these two forms is largely coincidental, however will favour analogy at one level, and convergence at another.

Triliteral roots:

B Š Q seems to be the only example and is a foreign loan (Greek - Hebrew).

Morphemic alternations:

The Latin case endings have disappeared, to be replaced by I N components, e.g. por (I) elle (N). The presence of the article la (N) may be interpreted either as a calque from Arabic, i.e. al-fiṭr "end of Ramadan", or as instance confirming the establishment of the systematic use of the definite article, one of the determining factors in the emergence of Romance dialects out of Latin.

The juxtaposition of V---d (2nd pers.sing.) verbal ending with a defined nominal group is odd. One expects 3rd pers.sing.; even a V---a verbal ending. Lasrando is ambiguous as to active or passive meaning. Although we shall dismiss it as poetic licence, this too is commonplace in Arabic. If a and b illustrate language varieties at either end of the vernacular continuum, c and d are somewhere between the extremes, as regards Romance borrowing.

c:	ya fātin a fātin	d:	ven sydy el querer eš tanto bieni
	[I N I N		[V N] [N V N
	woš y entrad		d'ešt alzameni con filyo d'Ibn al
	N N V		I N I N I N]
	kuando raḡa al siqq kerid		Dayyeni
	[I [V N] V]		

Word order in c is closer to Latin: [N V], but notice the embedded clause: [V N] which follows the Arabic word order together with non-Romance borrowings. [V N] in d could be following either an Arabic pattern or the Spanish Romance word order. Yet the composition of the string differs more from Arabic than it does from Romance. The order we have is: [N V N] or S V (O). Therefore we consider this karğa as having a Romance deep structure and surface Arabic loans as slot fillers, e.g. sydy, al-zameni; both have been borrowed with their case endings: -i.

As for the Romance elements, we notice the presence of the article el. It would seem that it is gaining acceptance in speech. May we remind the reader of the historical importance of these texts for Romance Philology. They are probably the earliest records of popular forms in Iberian literature. Turning our attention now to the rhymes, in a cuco is paired with tadhūqo, implying a degree of phonemic equivalence between o/u. In d, bieni is paired with zamāni and dayyāni. This rhyme illustrates the first degree of the imāla or a vowel shift from /a/ to /e/, simultaneously quantity has changed into stress peak following the accentual form of biéni, zaméni, dayyéni.

The Zağal

Whereas the muwaššaha, with the exception of the karğa, was a composition in "Classical Arabic" or at least in the formal register, the zağal was in the vernacular. The former offers within the same poem the full range of language from the erudite to the colloquial, which as far as we know has not been the object of a linguistic study yet. Since we are more

concerned with aspects of the spoken language, we shall not attempt it.

Here is a selection of verses taken from Ibn Quzmān: (1)

1.GG ed., ħ = /k/

FC ed., x = /k/

0.narīd wa-li ħauf an-nušba nabkī

narīd walixáwf annúšba nabkī:
[v] [i i N N v]

w-eš nadqir namūt warāk, yā Waškī

waš naqdár? namút warák, ya waškī!
[i v] [v N i N]

1.ʿašqt wa-šahhat[ʿanni] r-riwāya

ʿašáqtu wašáḥḥat arriwāya,
[v] [v N]

fa-qāllī laqad fiy amrak āya

faqállī: "laqád fi ʿamrak áya:
[i v] [i i N .]

ḡāb nabtadīk naʿmal nikāya

min ḡāb nabtadīk naʿmál nikāya".
[i N v [v]]

bi-riḡāk wa-dill waʿanki

nardá biridák, faqállī wankí!
[i N v [v]]

2.ašwart anā biman natiq bīh

nardá biridák, faqállī wankí! ih
[i N] [v] [v]

qultu la-hum fulān namūt fīh

qadašwártaná limán naṭiq bīh t fīh".
[i v] [N v i N]

qālū lī nušibt iyyāk taḡallih

qalú li: "našábtīyyák! taxallíh!".
[v] [v] [v]

wāḡid yuṭnī ḡair w-āḡar yuzakkī.

waḡád yaṭni xáyr waxár yuzakkí.
[N v] [N v]

followed by a phonemic transcription of the first zakal of the

Diwan: (2)

/niríd wa + li + xáwf an + núšba nabkī /

w + aš naqdár // namút wará + k / yá waškí#

ʿašáqt wa-šáḥḥat ar + riwāya /

fa + qál + li / la + qad fi amr + ak áya /

min ḡāb nabtadí + k naʿmál nikāya

nardá bi + riḡá + k w + aqáll w + ankí#

qad ašwárt aná bi + man naṭáq bīh /

wa + qúlt lá + hum / fulán namút fí + h#

qálu + li / našábt / iyyá + k / tuxallí + h#

wāḡid yaṭní xayr w-áxar yizakkí#

x=/k/ or [x]

1 GG=García Gómez (1972), FC=Corriente F.(1980). 1=zaḡal 1.

A double line shows where they differ in transliteration.

2 Corriente (1977:154,155). His translation:

I am willing, but I cry for fear of the net.

And what can I do? Waškī, I die because of you.

I have fallen in love: the story is true.

He said to me: "indeed, your case is strange:

From now on, I begin to torment you".

I accept your will: do humiliate and punish.

I have consulted with some people whom I trust

And said to them: "I am dying for So-and-So".

They said to me: "you have been caught, look out, leave him!"

But one thing is preaching well and another is paying the
alms.

- ١
نريد وَلِخَوْفِ النَّشْبَةِ نَبْكِي،
وَإِنْ نَقْدَرُ؟ نَمُوتُ وَرَاكَ، يَا وَثْكَي!
عَشَقْتُ وَصَحَّتْ الرِّوَايَةُ،
فَقُلْ لِي "لَقَدْ فِي أَمْرِكَ آيَةٌ،
مَنْ ذَاكَ نَبْتَدِيكَ نَعْمَلْ نِكَاحَهُ"
نَرْضَى بِرَفَاكَ، قَدْ لَ وَانْكَبِي.
قَدْ أَشَوْرْتُ أَنَا لِمَنْ نَشِيقُ بَيْنَهُ
وَقُلْتُ لَهُمْ "فُلَانُ نَمُوتُ فِيهِ"
قَالُوا لِي "نَشَبْتَ، يَاكَ، تَخْلِيهِ"
وَأَحْذِ يَشِي خَيْرَ وَآخِرَ يُزَكِّي.
- ١١ - ١٣ عُدْنِي رَاتِبِ أَوْ عُدْنِي حَشَمِي
أَرَى عَجَلًا، تَحْفَظْ لِي شَيْءًا مِنْ نَفْعِي
زُونُ جَنِيْدُ خُذْ هَؤُلَاءِ بِالْعَجَمِي
قُلْ "أَبْطِي" وَهَذَا غَلَبَ يَسْرِي.
- ١٤ تَعْنِي، إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنْ سُورٍ لُسُودِ
وَسُورٍ الصَّدِيقِ وَغَيْطِ الْعَسُودِ
وَأَتِ تَسَى وَهُوَ بِحَالِ الْعُودِ
وَفِي دَارِكَ مِنَ الْمَثَاقِيلِ هُورِي
- ٢٠ - ١٣ تَعْنِيَاتُ بَرَّةٍ وَأَنَا فِي أَتَنِظَّارِكَ،
يَا بَيَاضَ بَخْتٍ مَنْ زُرْتُ وَزَارَكَ
"زَلْ، أَبْنُ قُرْمَانَ، تَحْرَقِي بِنَارِكَ"
"فَرَنْ أَنَا، لَا شَيْءَ تَحْرَقُكَ بِنَارِي"
"كَحَلْ مَعَ أَزْنِي، اجْلِسْ، لَا تَبْدَرْ!
أَنْتَ وَأَنَا وَاحِدٌ، لَا خَدَانَا اجْلُودِ،
تَنْفُخْ آتَ يَدِّ بَشْعَرِكَ الْآسُودِ
وَشْ خَبَرِي إِذَا شَقُورَةُ عِذَارِي؟"
- ١٥ فَتَحَ الْإِلَهُ فَالْقَصَّةَ، وَكَانَ خَيْرُ
وَنَصَبْنَا الْفَخَّ وَأَصْطَدْنَا ذَاكَ الْطَيْرِ
هِيَ وَأَنَا فِي الدَّارِ جَمِيعٌ وَلَا غَيْرُ
لَمْ يَجِبْ حَقَّ صَبْرِي وَانْتَظَرَارِي؟
- ١٦ لَسْ تَسْعُرْنِي؟ يَعْجَبُكَ سَمْعِي؟
الْهَلَالُ، أَيْ، كَدَرًا رَكَّارِ،
قُمْ عَلَى نَفْسِكَ وَأَفْعَلْ سِرِّي،
النُّعَاسُ بِي، قَدْ كَانَ بِلَارِي.
- ١٠
ذَاكَ نَعَشَقْنَاكَ، نُجِيمَةً
مَنْ يَحْبُكَ وَيَمُوتُ فِيكَ؟
أَنْ قُتِلْتُ عَادَ يَكُونُ بَيْنَكَ
لَوْ قَدَّرَ قَلْبِي يَخْلِيكَ
لَمْ يَدْبَرْ ذَا النُّعِيمَةِ.
يَا مُطَرَّنَ شَيْلِبَاطُ
تَنْ حَزِينُ تَنْ بَنَاطُ
تَرَى السُّومَ وَشَطَاطُ؟
لَمْ نَذُقْ فِيهِ غَيْرَ لَقِيمَةِ.
قُلْتُ هَمَّ اللَّهُ الْكَبِيرُ
لَسْ نَطِيقُ مِنْهُ عَلَى أَكْكَرِ!
أَنْ تَرِيدَ مَسْجِدَ الْخَضِرِ
تَعِزِّ عَادَ بَيْنَ النُّشِيمَةِ؟

The two transliterations have been given to draw attention to the difficulty of identifying given Arabic letters, which increases with Romance borrowings transliterated into Arabic. Moreover G.G. retains a vowel quantity system, while F.C. opts for a word stress system. The author, together with other specialists (1), considers that the change from one system to the other had taken place and is reflected in the versification of this type of poetry.

In this poem we notice a freer word order than expected in the formal register, e.g.:

wa li káwf annúšba nabkí
[I I N N V]

Morphemic alternations: The presence of na- (v), in the 1st pers. is consistent with other Maghribi dialects, so is the use of aš as an interrogative particle. It occurs in informal speech.

The syntactic form of the strings is simple, there are only two expanded clauses:

i) min ḡáb nabtadíḡ na^Cmál níkáya
[I N V [V N]]

ii) ḡad ašwárt ana limán naṭiq bíh
biman
[I N V IN]

is an expansion similar to relativization; the anaphoric enclitic pronoun -hu is absent, implying a simplification in the rules with respect to strict formal usage. If li is the correct interpretation it is a substitution for ^Calā Cl.Ar.; if bi should be retained, the double occurrence of bi in the same clause is odd in a formal style.

1 Ribera y Tarragó, García Gómez, González Palencia.

A low number of expanded clauses is statistically significant as an indication of non-formal usage.(1)

The phonemic transcription shows the extent of the simplification in the system of morphemic alternations:

^c ašaqtu	----->	^c ašáqt
f-aḍalli	----->	f-aḍáll
waqultu	----->	waqúlt

These losses had taken place in the spoken varieties, ultimately the spelling reflects this process in the later documents.

10. GG ed.

FC ed.

(2)

0. ḡába na^cšáqka, nuḡáyma!
[v N]

1. mán yaḡibbak wayamut fík?
[N v] [I v IN]
'in ḡutíltu 'ád yakun bík:
[I v] [N v]
law ḡadár ḡalbí yaxallík,
[i v N] [v]
lam yaḡabbár ḡa_{nnuḡáyma}.
[I v N]

2. anā maṭre tan šilbāto

2. ya muṭárrnan, ŠILIBÁTO,
[I N] [N]
TAN ḡazínO, TAN PENÁTO!

tara 'alyáwm wašatátu?
[v N]
lam naḡúḡ fih ḡáyr luḡáyma.
[i v I N] [N]

3. [la] hum allāh akbar

les naṭiq min-ha ala ktar

id narīd

3. ḡúltu: "hāmm allāh alakbár!
[v] [N v → ∅ N]
las naṭiq minnú 'ala ktár!
[I v]
'id tarīd masjíd alaxḡár,
[i v N]
támdī 'ad bīr annuḡáyma?"
[v N]
j = /ǧ/, [ǧ]
x = /k/, [x]
g = /ǧ/, [ǧ]

1 Keenan in Fasold and Shuy (1975).

2 GG for García Gómez (1972:56). Only significant differences with FC appear. FC for F. Corriente (1980).

Translation of GG's version:

0. I love thee now my little star!
1. Who loves and for thee dies?
[and] if I die the fault is yours
If I surrender ye my heart
This line won't rhyme!
2. What a fool am I
Sad and torn apart.
See how long a day can last
Only a mouthful to break the fast.
3. God Almighty! Do I say
No more, can I bear this anxiety.
When to the green mosque I do hurry
Goes she to the well of the little birch tree.

Compare with the older version of verse 2:

*ya mu-tarnani salbato
tu'n hazin tu'n benato
tara al-yauma wastato
lam taduq fih geir luqeymah (1)
g = /g/, [ʒ]*

Zağal 10 is considered by García Gómez as the most colloquial in style (2). Verses 1 and 3 are considered together, and verse 2 after, as it stands out from the rest of the poem. One can appreciate in them a certain pattern recurring in the word order, which we have maintained so far as being the expected order for Arabic, i.e.: [(I) V (N)]. This pattern holds despite the variety in the types of clauses, some expanded, others coordinated. In verse 2 the regularity is broken for as long as foreign items are used in the string.

Accepting the soundness of García Gómez's views, the zağal may be retained as a model illustrating the range of syntactic choices in the generation of strings:

- 1 Ribera in González Palencia (1948:123). Translation:
"Oh my foolish Salvato! / you are sad and aggrieved /
the whole day you shall waste / and little only shall
you taste."
- 2 García Gómez (1972:56).

[(I)V]:(ḡaba) na^cṣaḡka - the simplest pattern

Man V: man yaḡibbak - Who V? question formation

Lam V (imperf.): lam yaḡabbar - Neg. V

las V : las naṭiq - Neg. V. Las (vernacular) for laysa

wa-V : coordinated clause

'in V)	conditional	1) if I die = should I die (hypothetic)
law V)	markers	2) if I were to surrender (impossible)
'id V)		3) if = whenever

These conditional markers, commonly used in the formal register, are retained in the vernacular.

The use of the article - derived from the concept of definiteness at the semantic level - seems to differ in this variety from the formal register/style, e.g.

ḡa nnuḡáyma - ḡā is a deictic particle defining N, the article n- is tautological. (poetic licence)
 masṣḡīd al-aḡḡar - one expects al-masṣḡīd al-aḡḡar in a more classical style. (poetic licence)

The three transliterations of verse 2 point to the difficulty of deciphering ^cAḡamī words in an Arabic context:

i) anā maṭre tan ṣilbāto

which may be decoded in two ways:

V	N	N underlying Arabic pattern .anā (N+(V ∅))
N	N	N underlying Romance pattern of doubtful acceptability on account of missing V.

Ṣilbāto is unrecognizable as a lexical item. G.G. suggests chiflado (1), which he admits is not very convincing. [V N N] seems preferable as it has a logical explanation, is semantically meaningful and is consistent with the Kupwar model discussed in 6.2.

ii) ya muṭarnan ṣilibáto tan ḡazíno tan penáto
 I N N N N
 Ar. Ar. Ro. Ro. Ar. Ro. Ro.

1 crazy.

The underlying pattern is a blend of mixed forms. It is impossible to state whether the deep structure is closer to one system or the other because the string itself is so short. Nevertheless tan ḥazīno is a Romance comparative construction with an Arabic lexical item as a slot filler. This type of construction is characteristic of creole/pidgin varieties.

iii) ya mutarnamī salbato tu'n hazin tu'n benato tara al-yauma..
 I N N V N V N V N
 Ar. Ar. Ro. ? Ar. ? Ro. Ar. Ar.

This analysis offers another alternative to ii, that is an underlying Arabic form with Romance surface borrowings for Rhyme. This would be a similar process to the Ha-Levī karḡa, in the previous section. Provided tu'n can be sustained as a form of "be"?

None of these attempts commends itself above the others. The positive aspects of each are outweighed by some limitation.

It is not too clear what is meant by "colloquial" in GG's appreciation of the poem and the issue is relevant to the question of whether Ibn Quzmān's poetry is a true reflection of urban speech. Granted the foreign nature of verse 2, which may have been included solely on literary grounds, the other two verses do not diverge greatly, in our framework, from the formal register. The features they share outweigh the innovations that separate them. If urban speech did contain a high percentage of mixed forms, we have here probably two different registers rather than one colloquial style. See Table Language Continuum, at the end of this section.

The next two excerpts are typical of the frequency and environment of the use of ^CAḡamī words in an Arabic context.

19. GG ed. (1)

FC ed.

13. 'udd-nī rātib an'udd-nī
aŷgāl taḥfaz lī ša'an

dono te do

qul a fe kē waqad galat badarī

'ett

ŷ=/ğ/, g=/ġ/

13. 'idni rātib 'aw 'úddani hašamī,
[v " [i v] "]
'arra 'ajjāl, taḥfaz min nagamī:

DONU ČÉDO "xuḍ háḍa" bal 'ajamī,

qul ABÉTE waqad galáb yasarī.

14. támḍi, 'in ša lláh, min surúr lisu'úd,
wasurúr aṣṣadīq wagáyz alḥasúd,
wát tusammá wahu biḥál al 'úd,
wafi dárak min almaṭáqil hurí.

j=/ğ/, g=/ġ/, x=/k/

The word order is consistent with other Arabic varieties,
taking into account the V deletions in the last two lines:

hu biḥál al 'úd
[NV→Ø IN N]

fi dárak hurí
[I N V→Ø N]

But see the striking reversal when the poet gives the equivalent expression in 'Ağamī:

Donu cedo kuḍ haḍa bal 'Ağamī
[N V][V N I N]

As for the two versions: dono te do, a fe kē compared to dono cedo, abete, G.G. suggests "a gift I give you", which is plausible as an underlying form but odd semantically in Romance; however in Arabic, reduplication of the V root in N component is very common. A fe kē is an incomplete string and from our point of view improbable. It is a legal expression that would

- 1 Translation of GG's version: 13. "I shall keep my place, Oh Hašami!/Hurry learn from my song/A gift I offer you, take this in 'Ağamī/If you say-by my faith the garment is mine." 14. "Go from delight to joy, God willing/Let the friend rejoice and the rival rave/cast like a piece of wood to see you win./May your house be a full granary!"

clash in style (inappropriate) with the rest of the poem.

Donu čedo: In later texts, there are many instances of /ǵ/ representing the Romance /tʃ/, čedo = [tʃedo], so this interpretation has some justification. Abete is more acceptable for being a semantic repetition of the context in another language.

20. GG ed. (1)

FC ed.

Furn

13. támši 'at bárra waná fi_{ntiz}arak,
ya bayad báxti man zúrtu wazarak!"
-"zúl, abán guzmán, **tahráqni binarak!**"
-"fúr_naná, la šák nahráqak binári!

14. káhla ma' 'azráq, 'ajlás, la tabaddád!
'ánta wána wáhid, la h_dána 'ajwád,
tánfux_{at} yádda bišá' rak alaswád,
wáš xabar yádda šuqúrat 'idári?"

15. fáta_h al'iláh f_{alq}íssa wakan xáyr,
wanašábna_{lf}áx, waštádna dak attáyr:
hí waná f_{add}ár jamí'a wala gáyr!
lam yajáb haqqa šabrí w_{intiz}ári?

16. leš tusammirni ya'ğabak

16. "laš tasammárni? ya 'jábka samíri?

[hãdã]al-hilâl ay kedarme rekere

'alhilâl, ayya, KEDARME REKÍRE:

qúm 'ala náfsak wa'mállí saríri,

non kero belare.

'annu 'ás biyya, qaddí kan BELÁri."

j=/ǵ/, x=/k/, g=/ǵ/

- 1 Translation of GG's version: "13. Whenever you come out you'll see me dutifully in wait./ Blessed am I in luck... /Hush Quzmán, your flame burns me./ I am a furnace, doubt not, my fire kindles you./ 16. I must stay up, shall I keep you company?/ This moon requires me to stay./ Act on your wish, prepare my bed./ I am sleepy [now] I do not want to stay awake./"

We observe several instances of verb deletion in the surface structure of the text. Here are three:

aná fi-ntižarak annu 'ás biyya
[N V→∅ I N] [N V→∅ I N]

furn aná
[N V→∅ V]

These deletions, we suggest, occur more frequently in dialogue than in reported speech or other samples of formal language where embedded clauses are to be expected. The occurrence of w-aš and laš confirm the colloquial nature of this excerpt. The use of ma' in kaḥla ma' azraq to express possession seems to be preferred to other possibilities existing in the language formerly, such as case endings. Again, change can be observed compared to formal style in the appearance of a redundant article, as seen in a previous poem:

ḍak aṭṭayr, ḍak being a deictic particle defines N; aṭ is superfluous.

Turning to the Romance elements, G.G. considers Furn as a loan, F.C. as a foreign item that has been assimilated into this variety. It is difficult to say who is right, without studying at length the vocabulary of the time. Since syntax is of more immediate interest, we shall pass on to the two other ^cAğamī strings:

kedarme rekere , kedarme rekíre
[[V N] V] [[V N] V]

The vowel difference is not significant. What is not clear is whether the subject is the previous (N) hilal or an unspecified one, the lady of the poem.

non kero belare , qaddí kan belári (1)
[I V V] [I V ?]

1 Translation: "I do not want to stay awake, I have been awake."

The interpretations are quite different. The first is a straightforward string in Romance. The second is a mixed-form string, possibly with an underlying Arabic pattern which would admit an infinitive (V) after kan. For the purpose of this study, we shall accept either version, keeping in mind the uncertainty of the transliteration.

The changes in the vernacular are confirmed from another source. Ibn Hišam al-Lakmī al-Sabtī, a contemporary of Ibn Quzmān, has left us one of the few existing treatises on errors people make in speech (1).

His comments centre on the word as a unit, with a few passing remarks on misquotations of famous lines of poetry, and for this reason, do not provide us directly with any text in the vernacular. Nevertheless, he attempts to classify these errors as he discusses their nature. The exercise is not without interest as it affords an insight into the areas of grammatical uncertainty, showing up the limits of competence in terms of knowledge of the classical language. Here are a few examples:

- i) non-acceptable vocalization
- ii) adding consonants or semi-vowels
- iii) deleting inappropriately consonants or semi-vowels
- iv) changing gender
- v) changing meaning
- vi) changing verbal forms
- vii) introducing foreign forms in Arabic
- viii) introducing colloquial forms (slang) inappropriately into formal registers
- ix) changing one consonant for another
- x) misconstruing plural forms

One of the major drawbacks of this work is that the words have lost their context, as the author assumes, no doubt, that his audience is familiar with the environment, not to mention

1 Kitāb fī laḥn al-^Camma, MSS No. 49-Escorial; see Díaz García A. PhD Thesis 1973, University of Granada.

the fact that grammarians, at that time, were primarily lexicographers; hence the word not the sentence attracts most of their attention. That there should be so many different deviations is clear evidence that the spoken idiom was diverging from written varieties and that the diglossia gap was widening. A century later the reverse situation would be the case. More interesting even is Díaz García's observation that the vocalization of the words quoted coincides almost always with that of cognates in the later works of the Vocabulista (Cl3, ed. Schiaparelli) and the Vocabulista (c.1505, P. de Alcalá).⁽¹⁾ This suggests a slowing down of the linguistic processes of change, once the new forms had imposed themselves in the upheaval of the Cl1 to Cl2.

^CAğamī

How authentic is the ^CAğamī corpus? The views differ from acceptance that it was the speech of the people (García Gómez, Stern) to a more guarded opinion: (i) that the loans are curiously limited in their vocabulary and syntax (2). This implies that the population was not bilingual-Romance/Arabic; or (ii) that it represents a fossilized form of language (Hilty, Sola Solé). (iii) The most extreme view is that it is a parody of the way people talked in towns and the effect, in poetry, would be to raise a laugh.

Granted there is a measure of truth in the language used

1 Díaz García (1973:67).

2 G. Hilty in Frank Alatorre (1975:91): "A percentage of 30% of Arabic loans seems to me improbable for as long as Romance was the native tongue of the majority of the population in Al Andalus."

in comedy, since otherwise it would fall flat - the only features chosen are those that will amuse, resulting in a distorted vision. There is little evidence from the considerable body of research this strophic poetry has attracted, to support the extreme views. Perhaps one should give attention to the question of to whom it was addressed. We find that some poems were in praise of well-known men of letters, nevertheless the majority were written for less polished personalities and a fair number are love poems dedicated to young people of the lower social classes. We may assume that the language was familiar to them.

Finally, as Lévi-Provençal explains, "the main characteristic of this dialect [Mozarabic Romance] and parallelly that of Spanish-Arabic consists in a sort of compromise between both language, Arabic and Romance; the one influencing the other, imposing on each other their loans by a process of hybridization, caused by a state of bilingualism in everyday usage, just like - and I do not think anybody has mentioned it so far - the way Arabic and Castilian Spanish combine nowadays in town speech, in Spanish Morocco. Thus, it is this hybrid aspect of the vernacular of al-Andalus that must not be forgotten when interpreting the *ḡarḡas*, which are, as often as not, bilingual, rather than exclusively Romance." (1)

This would support our hypothesis that the Arabic vernacular spoken during this period should be understood as a continuum reaching classical usage at one end but above all including mixed forms at the other end until the point when

1 . Lévi-Provençal (1954:203): "Some observations on the interpreting of the Mozarabic *ḡarḡas*".

intelligibility for Arabic vernacular speakers ceased and conscious awareness of ^CAğamī (foreign speech) began (1).

7.2.3 Conclusion

Between the fall of the Caliphate (1031) and the Berber invasion under Yūsuf Ibn Tāšufīn (1091), there was a period of civil disorder, fitna, described in Part I. After a first wave of devastation and chaos which saw the sacking of Cordoba and the exodus of many of its inhabitants, local rulers emerged and lorded over areas of relative peace, often the size of a county: Mulūk at-ṭawā'if.

This endless civil war marked a break with the Umayyad culture. Muslim Spain had lost its independence. The change in linguistic habits that began to be noticeable in the last years of the Umayyad dynasty was now more obvious and widespread: urban vernacular was used in all circles to the detriment of the Classical Arabic register (Middle Arabic, E.I.). Perhaps the most striking change of all, for the contemporaries, was the political fragmentation of this new Al-Andalus compared to the, at times, fictitious unity of the Caliphate. This, in part, explains why these local rulers strove hard to keep alive by way of culture what had survived the catastrophe. Eventually writers, poets, artists found protection in their patronage.

Ibn Ḥazm (993-1064) experienced the drastic reversals of fortune common to these times; a prolific writer, expert in innumerable subjects more worthy, in the eyes of his readers, than comments on the vernacular, who nevertheless observed

1 See table at the end of this section.

in writing the way people spoke at the time:

"Thus they say ʿaynab for ʿinab (grapes), asṣṭūt for as-sawṭ (the whip) ... When a Berber speaks Arabic and wishes to say aš-šağara (the tree), he utters as-sağara. When a Galician (native of the Astur-Leonés kingdom) takes on Arabic ways for ʿayn (/ʿ/) and ḥā (/ħ/), he says ha (/h/); he says Mohamed for Muḥammad and similar cases are many..."(1)

He discusses further dialectal varieties and is unique in that he seeks a logical explanation from fact to cause in a similar spirit to that of the later Ibn ʿAlī in his search into why societies differ one from another. Where others censure deviation from the norm, Ibn Ḥazm goes a step further, noticing that people from different regions or communities are prone to different speech errors and that speakers from a given community deviate from received pronunciation in a similar fashion. In his description of the speech of the Banū Bali (2), he considers they speak a purer variety of Arabic than most in Al-Andalus and underlines the importance of their relative geographical isolation. Without quite explaining why they express themselves in good Arabic, nor the relation between both facts, he certainly goes most of the way.

This leads us back to the poetical forms we have discussed, and their importance as a major source in any study of the vernacular. The zağal maintained its popularity during the C13 and Ibn ʿAlī mentions in his commentary on his visit to Granada in C15 that there was no lack of poets in this genre (3). The foreign elements, however, gradually diminished in frequency

- 1 In Pérès (1950:293): Ibn Ḥazm, Kitāb al-Iḥkām fī usūl al-aḥkām, Cairo 1345 AH, vol.1, p.31-32.
- 2 In Pérès (1950:204): Ibn Ḥazm, Ḥamharat ansāb al-ʿArab MSS, Paris, f.154r. A tribe living to the north of Cordoba.
- 3 Cf. Muqaddimah (1958:III:404,410ff).

Sola Solé remarks that by the Cl3, it is the Jewish poets who persist the longest in this fashion.(1) One reason for this disappearance may be the hardening of attitudes, on both sides of the frontier, brought about by more bellicose Christian kings and the uniting of their forces against Muslim Spain, and the Berbers, in turn, being more wary and intolerant with their non-Muslim subjects. It is possible, too, that the Jews were less immediately affected by the above-mentioned attitudes; they were not identified with either of the belligerent parties and they could travel from state to state, with relative ease, on account of their commercial activities.

Spanish Judeo-Arabic

Since Koranic restraints did not weigh upon the Jews, Spanish Judeo-Arabic is an alternative source of some interest for retrieving first-hand information on Arabic vernacular (2).

Wansbrough, in his discussion of a Cl2 document from Sicily, mentions the following details which bear upon the syntax and lead him to identify the variety as belonging to the Maghribi dialects (3):

- (a) na-V (imperfective) for the 1st persons singular and plural.
- (b) shī as a negative particle. I have not met such a form in my corpus within this period, although a possible cognate as occurs at a much later date.
- (c) The disappearance of case endings. This coincides with the loss of case ending morphs in the poems we have seen.

- 1 Sola Solé (1973-35): "One notices a higher proportion of Romance loans, used to better effect, in the 'ḥarḡas' [ḡarḡa] of Jewish authors." But see also Stern (1974:151): "The employment of this dialect in the Kharjas of the Hebrew poets was rendered easier by the fact that the Jewish population made everyday use of the Mozarabic of its Muslim and Christian neighbours."
- 2 Vajda (1978 :299) E.I.
- 3 Wansbrough (1967:306).

(d) The high frequency of occurrence of li and pronoun suffix. This corroborates the expanding domain of the particles.

Ashtor, commenting upon C11 Spanish documents of the Genizah, points to similar developments and adds further information (1):

- i) llaḏī, the relative pronoun stands for singular and plural substantives.
- ii) Whereas na-V (imperfective) is used in the 1st person, morph -na has been dropped in the 2nd and 3rd persons plural.

yaf^Calūna ----> yaf^Clū

One would expect that the use of na- V would favour the loss of V-na in the other persons of the plural as a process tending to avoid ambiguity.

- iii) Loss of case differentiation.
- iv) Concord between verb and substantive becomes unpredictable.
- v) laysa, the verbal auxiliary has become fossilized in the form of a particle.

These findings are of a considerable interest and this for two main reasons. Either they may be seen as predicting innovations that are taking place but will only emerge at a later date in documents on account of the interdicts restricting the appearance of dialectal varieties in writing - or as an external source completing the picture provided by Arabic datable documents.

Summary

The language continuum for Arabic speakers of C11 to C12 may be seen as follows:

Formal Style	Vernacular ← Dialectal Varieties	Mixed	Forms	Romance	
		Arabic Deep Structure	Romance Deep Structure		
		VSO reversals	SVO reversals	SVO expected	CONVERGENCE
	reversals	hybrid forms		non-trilateral roots	
	same	tends to \emptyset	same	affix derivation	
	same	\emptyset	\emptyset	Latin case morphs tend to \emptyset	CONVERGENCE
	tend to \emptyset	same		articles are used to express definiteness	possible CONVERGENCE
	no longer obey clearly state-able rules	same		particles expand their domain	CONVERGENCE
	particles expand their domain	same	same	V deletion	CONVERGENCE
	e.g. li O	fa : \emptyset	\emptyset	systematic coordination (et-et)less frequent than in Arabic	possible CONVERGENCE
	same	LIMITED PATTERNS OF SUBORDINATIONS		V que	CONVERGENCE
	same	same		V si	
	same	same		Relativization is Romance-specific	
	tends to \emptyset	\emptyset	same	non V	
	māV or lāV lamV →	same		Regional varieties minimally distinct in corpus at syntactic level	
	na-V imperfective les, aš	same		Arabic borrowing in Mozarabic is still a mystery.	
	lexical items	hybrid forms			

7.3 Spain 1212-1492 AD

7.3.1 Al-Andalus

Although the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 was one of the many battles of the time, it gradually came to be seen by historians as a turning point in the fortunes of Moslem Spain. The balance of power was, from now on, in the hands of the northern Christian kingdoms and the continuing presence of the Moors was on sufferance, depending on the relative degree of success of the Christian armies, often weakened by internal dissension, and to a lesser degree on diplomacy.

Help from Islam meant help from North Africa. The arrival of the forces of Yūsuf Ibn Tāšufīn, better known as the Almoravides, and the subsequent intervention of the Almohades had cost the Moslem rulers of Spain an exorbitant price in terms of looting, exile or even loss of life. Besides assistance was not always available. Periodically the Maghrib was the scene of brutal civil wars. Thus from 1212 AD onwards, Al-Andalus, in the main, was left to fight its own battles, and by 1266, was reduced to the Kingdom of Granada (see Map 3).

In spite of its embattled position, the culture of Al-Andalus continued to flourish for another two and a half centuries, nurturing writers of a prestige equal to that of the best pens in the East (Ibn Sabʿīn, Ibn Saʿīd al-Mağribī, Ibn Khaṭīb). Compared to the previous period the number of texts in vernacular decreases notably, possibly for the social reasons we mentioned, and passages in ʿAğamī are extremely scarce. As a result, comments on the speech habits of the inhabitants during this period will be more difficult to substantiate, even though there exists a vast literary corpus.

The diglossia gap, that occurs with Arabic dialects, makes it all the more arduous to reconstruct spoken varieties from literary forms, for two mechanisms always seem to be at work, blocking the existence of literature in the vernacular.

Situation one, the gap is narrowing: spoken varieties adopt the characteristics of formal registers and writing follows suit; situation two, the gap tends to widen: spoken varieties diverge from formal models. When the second mechanism is activated, the dominant attitude is that one may indulge in compositions in dialect in the company of friends. Such works are trifles and are rarely entered in the usual collections of works that preserve most other literary creations.⁽¹⁾ It takes, therefore, very special circumstances to weaken these barriers. Compared to other Moslem societies, Al-Andalus has been more successful than most.

In order to quantify these speech habits, we have chosen:

- i) legal documents concerning everyday activities: sales, irrigation agreements;
- ii) poetry in vernacular;
- iii) correspondence in the years preceding the Fall of Granada.

The first three texts are documents referring to estates of el Cenete in the district of Guadix to the east of Granada, and their watering rights. One distinct advantage is that they are dated, and although it may be argued that such texts reflect conservative usage rather than actual use, it is fairly

1 In F. de la Granja (1976:206). "Maqqarī says of ^CUmar al-Mālaqī who lived 1440s, 'The common people know by heart his zayāls, his poems and his maqāmas, that the minority reject with the exception of those things which can be tolerated in a writer, like the maqāma by the title of Tasrīh al niṣāl ilā maqātil al faṣṣal'.

certain that the content was clear to both parties on account of the importance of the issue.

Bartiliana versus Lubros, re: watering rights
(20 rabī^c - 1st 583 AH; May 1187 AD)
revised Ramaḍan 685, November 1286. (1)

bismi-llāh r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm ṣallā llāhu ‘alā muḥammadin
wa-‘āl h... tanāza‘a l- musammūn ba‘d hāḡā min ‘āhl qar-yat
[v N I N I N
bartal’ana min qurā zāwiyat wādī ‘as wa-hum š-šayk ‘abū ḡa‘far
I N [IV→φ N N
aḡmad bnu l- ‘as‘ad wa- š- šayk ‘abū l-ḡasan ‘alī bnu ... (2)
l-qawšī wa-nazār bnu r-rasūl wa-‘alī bnu marwan wa-yūsuf
bnu aḡmad bnu ḡa‘dūn wa- ‘abū ‘iṣḡaq ‘ibrahīm bnu ḡafīz
wa- ‘abū ḡa‘far aḡmad halūl ma‘a l-musammīn ba‘d hāḡā
] I N I N
‘ayḡan min ‘āhl qar-yat lubruš min qurā ḡabal l-madīnat
I N
l-maḡkūrat wa-hum š-šayk ‘abū ‘abd allāh muḥammad bnu ḡālib
[I V→φ N N
bnu zakariyā wa- ‘abū tāmmām ḡālib bnu ... bnu ‘alī bnu
muḥammad bnu maṭrūš wa- ‘abū ‘abd allāh muḥammad bnu raḡā
wa- ‘abū ‘abd allāh muḥammad ... wa- ‘abu ḡa‘far ‘aḡmad bnu
ṣayid n-nās fī ḡumlat l-‘uyūn wa-n-nuš‘ū l-munba‘iṭat
] I N
fī murūḡ s-saw-dān bi-qiblī šulayr hunā-lika wa-bi-
I N]
maḡrubat min qabr l-‘ilḡ (3) wa-bi-qiblī ṭarīq ḡarnātat
hunā-lika. wa-za‘ama ‘āhl lubruš ‘an l-‘uyūn wa-l-manāš‘ ḡaqq
ḡuḡq-h=m wa-milk min ‘amlāk -h=m wa-‘an-hā muḡtaṣṣat li-
yasqī mazrū‘ qar-yat-h=m wa- ‘iṭṡāḡḡa ‘āhl bartal’ana ‘alā ‘āhl
lubruš l-maḡkūrīn bi-tamalluk mā’ l-‘uyūn wa-n-nuš‘ū dūn-h=m
bi-sabab ḡariyā (4) ‘alā sāḡiyat l-hābiṭat l-qar-yat-h=m
wa- ‘an la-hum ... l-ḡālika li-qadīm
(y=vowel in text; _____ = Romance loan)

- 1 ed. González Palencia (1940:321ff).
- 2 undecipherable, wear and tear, otherwise marked as "..."
- 3 i)ram, ii)insult, iii)by extension, Christian renegade.
(Cf. Al Andalus V p.193; we have opted for the third
meaning as more probable than i.)
- 4 sic - misprint? ḡariyāni.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * صلى الله على محمد وآله

تنازع المسمون بعد هذا من اهل قرية برتلانة من قرى زاوية وادي اش
وهو الشيخ ابو جعفر احمد بن الاسعد والشيخ ابو الحسن علي بن []
القوشى ونزار بن الرسول وعلى بن مرون ويوسف بن احمد بن جعدون وابو
اسحق ابراهيم بن حفيظ وابو جعفر احمد هلول مع المسمين بعد هذا ايضا
من اهل قرية لبرش من قرى جبل المدينة المذكورة وهم الشيخ ابو عبد
الله محمد بن غالب بن زكريا وابو تمام غالب بن [] بن علي بن محمد
بن مكروش وابو عبد الله محمد بن رجا وابو عبد الله محمد [] وابو جعفر
احمد بن سيد الناس في جملة العيون والنشوع المنبئة في مروج السواد
يقبل شلير هنالك وبقرنة من قبر العلي يقبل طريق ثرائة هنالك

وزعم اهل لبرش ان العيون والمناسع حق من حقوقهم وملك من املاكهم
وانها مختصة ليسقى مزروع قريتهم واحتج اهل برتلانة على اهل لبرش المذكورين
بتملك ماء العيون والنشوع دونهم بسبب جريا على ساقية الهابطة لقريتهم
وان لهم [] لذلك لقديم ساقيتهم وزعم اهل
لبرش المذكورون انهم احدثوا الساقية المذكورة في الفة سالفة على وجه
المغربى اذ كانت قريتهم خالفة ولم يعلموا بتعريفهم في ذلك الى ان ضمتهم
الان الحاجة لتجهيز الماء بتوالي الفحوب [] من النظر لهم وجيرانهم
المشتركين معهم في الماء المذكور ان اوقفوا على العيون والمناسع المذكورة
جماعة من اهل البصر وسالوا منهم النظر الى ذلك وان ياتواوا لهم في ذلك
وجها يزيلوهم به عن الخصام المذكور

فاشكل الامر عليهم في الساقية التي القوها جارية بجملة الماء الى ناحية
برتلانة المذكورة فراوا من النظر لهم والحوطة عليهم ان اشاروا عليهم بالصلح
في ذلك وندبهم اليه ليكون ذلك اخص للفرقتين فاجابوهم اني ذلك اذ راوا
ذلك مصلحة لهم وجيرانهم وشركائهم [] الصلح

فاصلحا في ذلك على ان سأل اهل برتلانة المسمون فيه لاهل
لبرش المذكورين العين التي تنبعث من المجرى النى بالجهة الغربية
هنالك في اول العيون بالجهة المذكورة مع ساير ما تحته من النشوع
المنبئة في المجرى المذكور التي يسق الطريق المذكور الى موقعها
بجملتها في ساقية اهل لبرش المذكورين وبسأل اهل لبرش المذكورون لاهل
برتلانة المذكورين العيون التي بالجهة الشرقية من الجهة المتقدمة الذكر وسائر
العيون والنشوع التي يقع ماؤها في ساقيتهم المذكورة بجملتها وخلص لك
فريق منهم ما سأل له الفريق الثانى من ذلك وانفردوا به دونهم مع
جيرانهم وشركائهم على نسبة اشتراكهم في ذلك في التنويه المعلوم عندهم
وعقدوا هذا الصلح المذكور على نصه وعلى ان لا يرفع اهل برتلانة
المذكورون البرجول الذى زعموا انهم كانوا يرفعونه قديما عند العين المذكورة
اولا فيه اذ لو رفعوا الان وقع فيه ماء العين المذكورة وانقطع حق اهل
لبرش منها فانفقوا على اسقاط حقهم فيه ولا يرفعوها فيها اذ لم يصدقهم
عليه اهل لبرش المذكورين وامضى كل فريق منهم لهذا الصلح على
انفسهم وعلى جيرانهم للمصلحة الشاملة التي راوها في ذلك والنظر ولقضاء
الخصومة وما تولد من الشحن والتباغض وعرفوا قدر ذلك كله ومبلغه واشهدوا
على انفسهم بذلك كله الجماعة التي وقفوا معهم على ذلك وهم الذين
يكتبون اسماءهم في هذا الكتاب وسمعوا ذلك منهم وعرفوهم بالعين
والاسم وفي العشر الوسط لربيع الآخر سنة ثلاثة وثمانين وخمسمائة

sāqiyat -h=m wa-za'ama 'ahl lybruš l-maḍkūrūn 'an-hum aḥḍatū
 s-sāqiyat l-maḍkūrat fī l-fannat (l) l-sālifat 'alā waḡh
 l-maḡrib 'id kānat qar yat-h=m kālifatān wa-lam ya'lmū
 bi-t'arrī-him fī ḡālika 'ilā 'an ḡammat-hum al'ā-na
 l-ḡāḡat li-tahabbīt l-mā' bi-tawālīfuḡūb ... min naẓar
 la-hum wa-bi-ḡīrān -h=m l-muštariḱīna ma'a-h=m fī l-ma'
 l-maḍkūr 'an 'awḡafū 'alā -l'uyūn wa-lmanāšū l-maḍkūr-at
 ḡamā'atan min 'ahl l-bašar wa-sa'ālū min-hum n-naẓar 'ilā
 ḡālika wa-'an yaltamisū la-hum fī ḡālika waḡhān yazīlū-hum
 bi-h 'an l-ḱiṣām l-maḍkūr
 fa-āškala l- 'amr 'alay-him fī s-sāqiyat llatī 'alfawa-hā
 ḡāriyat bi-ḡumalat l-ma' 'ilā nāḡiyat bartal'ana l-maḍkūrat
 fa-rā'w min n-naẓar la-hum wa-l-ḡawṭat 'alay-him 'an
 š-šārrū 'alay-him bi-š-ṣulḡ fī ḡālika wa-nadabū-hum 'ilay-hi
 li-yakūn ḡālika 'aḱfaḍa li-farīḡayn fa- 'aḡābū-hum 'ilā
 ḡālika 'id rā'w ḡālika mašlahatan la-hum wali -ḡīrān-h=m
 wa-šurakāy-h=m ... aš-ṣulḡ
 fa- 'ištalaḡū fī ḡālika 'alā 'an sallama 'ahl bartal'ana
 l-musammūn fī-h l-'ahl lybruš l-maḍkūrīn l-'ayn llatī tan-ba'it
 min l-maḡarā llatī bi-l-ḡihat l-ḡarbiyyat hunā-lika fī
 'awwal l-'uyūn bi-l-ḡihat l-maḍkūrat ma'a sāyr mā taḡtah
 min n-nuṣū l-munba'itat fī l-maḡarā l-maḍkūr llatī yaššūḡ
 t-tarīḡ l-maḍkūr 'ilā mawqi'-hā bi-ḡamilat -hā fī sāqiyat
 'ahl lybruš l-maḍkūrīn
 wa-sallama ahl lybruš l-maḍkūrūn li-'ahl bartal'ana
 l-maḍkūrīn l-'uyūn llatī bi-l-ḡihat š-šarḡiyyat min l-ḡihat
 l-mutaḡadimat d-ḡikr wa-sāyr l-'uyūn wa-nuṣū llatī yaḡa'
 mā'ū-hā fī sāqiyat -h=m l-maḍkūrat bi-ḡumlat-hā wa-kallaša
 li-kull farīḡ min-hum mā sallama la-h l-farīḡ t-tānī

min dālika wa- 'infaradū bi-h dūn -h=m ma'a ġirān-h=m
 wa-šurakāy-h=m 'alā nisbat ištirāk-h=m fī dālika¹/t-tana-wīb
 l-ma'lūm 'inda-hum
 wa-ʿaqadū hādā ʃ-ʃulḥ l-maḍkūr 'alā naṣif wa- 'alā 'ān lā
 yarfa' ahl bartal'ana l-maḍkūrūn l-barraġūl llaḍī za'amū
 'anna-hum kānū yarfa'ūna-h qadīman 'inda l- 'ayn l-maḍkūrat
 'awwalan fī-h 'id law rafa'ū 'al'ā-na waqa'a fī-h mā' l- 'ayn
 l-maḍkūrat wa- nqaṭa'a ḥaqq ahl lubruš min-hā fa-ttafaqu
 'alā isqāṭ ḥaqq-h=m fī-h wa-lā yarfa'ū fī-hā 'id lam
 yuṣadiq-hum 'alay-hi 'ahl lubruš l-maḍkūrūn wa- 'amiḍā
 kull farīq min-hum li-hādā ʃ-ʃulḥ 'alā'anfus -h=m wa- 'alā
 ġirān -h=m li-l-maṣlaḥat š-šāmilat llatī rā'w-hā fī
 dālika wa-n-nanṣar wa-l-qāṭa' l-kuṣūmat wa-mā tuwallid-h
 min š-šihān wa-t-tabāġuḍ wa- raf'ū qadr dālika kull -h
 wa-mablaġat wa- ašḥadū 'alā 'anfus-h=m bi-dālika kull -h
 l-ġamā'at llatī waqafū ma'a-hum 'alā dālika wa-hum
 llaḍīna yaktubūna smā'-h=m fī hādā l-kitāb wa-sami'ū
 dālika min-hum wa- 'arifū-hum bi-l- 'ayn wa-l-'ism wa-fī
 l- 'ašir l-wasaṭ l- rabī' l- ak² sanat talāṭat
 wa-ṭamānīn wa-kams=mayat .

'abd allāh bnu 'alī l-'azdī šahada ...(1)

mimman qābala-h bi- 'aṣl-h l-muntasak min-h hādā wa-l-fāhu
 mumāṭil-h l-ḥarf bi-l-ḥarf 'illā mā kāna fī-h min tamzīq-h
 tabayun ḥurūf-h wabaqīya (2) mawāḍi -h l-bīḍ wa-nuqilat
 šahādat šuhūd . ba'd l-muqābalat wa-t-taṣḥīḥ fī munsalak
 ramadan l-muṣam 'ām. kamsat. wa-ṭamānīn. wa-sitt=māyat.

1 List of witnesses.

2 Word questioned by González Palencia.

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The blessing of God be on Muḥammad and his people! The following, namely sheik Abū Ḡa'far et al., from the village of Bartiliana, one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Wādī 'ash [Guadix] are at odds likewise with the following: sheik Abū 'Abd-Allāh et al. from the village of Lubros, one of the mountain villages of the said town concerning all the wells and waterholes springs in the meadows of the Blacks, to the south of Šulayr (1), and in the vicinity of the Renegade's burial place to the south of the Granada road.

The village of Lubros claim that the wells and springs are their property by right and possession and are to be used exclusively to irrigate the crops of their village. Bartiliana raised objections against Lubros as to the appropriation of the water of the wells and springs to the exclusion of the former, on the grounds that the water runs along an irrigation ditch descending to the village of the latter and that it was theirs... of old.

The villagers of Lubros claimed that they repaired the same irrigation channel previously on its west side as their village followed from there on, and that they knew not what had happened in this matter except that a complaint was lodged against them for letting the water continually fall [along it] ... on the advice of settlers and farming partners of theirs concerning the above-mentioned water that a party of experts should report on the said wells and springs, they asked about this matter and requested their opinion on it in order to bring to an end this lawsuit.

The matter became [more] difficult for them, concerning the channel which they found running with all the water towards the above-mentioned Bartiliana, they considered that it would be wise and prudent of them to advise the villagers to reach a settlement in the matter and to urge them to do so, that tension might lessen between the factions. They acceded to this, for they saw it was to their interest, that of the settlers and partners... peace. So they considered it fitting to make peace on the condition that Bartiliana would give over to Lubros the spring that gushes from the gully to the west of there, into the first of the water holes of the area with the remainder of springs below that flow into the gully that crosses the road described, until where all of its water comes down the irrigation canal of the village of Lubros, and on the condition that Lubros handed over to Bartiliana the wells which are to the east of the area previously referred to, with the remaining wells and springs, the waters of which come down in their entirety along the aforementioned irrigation canal. And what was settled upon by the opposing party was fulfilled and they remained sole claimant to their share in co-partnership with the settlers and partners, according to the order of succession fixed among themselves.

(1) Sierra Nevada

They finalized the agreement on the condition that the village of Bartiliana would not raise any dam which they claimed they had done in the past next to the water hole in question, that is the first one; for if they were to build it now, seeing that the water gathers in it, they would cut off the village of Lubros in its rightful [access] to it. Thus they agreed upon relinquishing their former claim and not contending for it, for if they did, Lubros would not accept it. Each side under-signed the agreement on its own behalf and that of the settlers for the sake of overcoming ill feelings they saw in the [situation] and the wisdom in cutting short the argument which generated hatred and rancour. They were aware of its force and the value of it all. Witnessing on their behalf, as to its full content all the group who backed them on this issue, the names of whom are written in this document, and who heard about the matter from them, and know the claimants by sight and by name. [Done] in the mid ten days of Rabi'a the 2nd of the year 583.

'Abd Allāh ... al Azdī, etc.

Those who confronted the original deed with the copy and letter by letter of its exact copy except for the rents and the letters that came in the blank spaces; the statement of the witnesses appears after the compared version and its correction, at the end of the month of Ramaḍan of the year 685.

The "spectrum" of features which characterizes this text is as follows:

. Word Order: It is consistently VSO.

. V and N components have triliteral roots, and form derivations from these roots:

MiLK	aMLāK	ṭaMaLluK
yaSQī	SāQīYat	

Case endings are still distinguished in some nominal forms, i.e. those involving endings with long vowels:

madkūr/in/ūn
musammūn/in
lladī/lladīna

However one notices from time to time instances of gender hesitation (1):

tanba ^C iṭ	min	l-maḡarā	llatī	bi-l	ḡihat
V	I	N (mas)	[N(fem)V→Ø	I	N]

fī	l-maḡarā	l-madkūr	llatī	yašṣuq	ṭ-ṭarīq
I	N(mas)	(mas.sing.)	[N(fem)	V(mas)	N]

1 Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī as-Sabtī (7.2).

The following patterns are found in the text:

V deletion clauses: wa hum š-šayk 'abū ġ.
[I V→∅ N N]

wa...fa coordination: wa-za^Cama ahl fa 'aškala l-'amr
[I V N][I V N]

V'an: wa-za^Cama ahl lubruš 'an
[I V N [I

Law V: 'id law rafa^Cū... wa nqata^Ca haqq
[I I V][I V N]

llaḡī V: wa hum llaḡīna yaktubūna smā'h-m
N [N V N

llatī V: see above

man V-hu: mimman qābala-h
[N V

The presence of V-h is a conservative feature, found in Classical Arabic.

The average number of nested clauses is 2, with one exception (see text).

Negation: lā V : ^Calā 'an lā yarfa^C
[I I V]

lam V: wa lam ya^Clmū... 'ilā 'an ḡammat-hum
[I I V][I I V

The co-occurrence of these features which include complex subordination situate the text within the formal style range.

The place names: bartal'ana and lubruš are probably loans.

Of all the V components, a proportion are V → ∅ deletions, paired with N components (verbal nouns) functioning as V (predicates).

Li-yaḡḡī mazrū^C - for the watering of crops
I N N

bi-sabab ḡarīyā^C ^Calā sāḡiyat - on account of its running
I N N I N along the ditch

Bill of sale re: private properties belonging to the King, in the vicinity of Mount Šulayr (Sierra Nevada) and Jerez castle to 'Abū 'Alī Ḥasan Ibn Ibrāhīm al Azdī et al., and ensuing watering rights (1st rabī^C-1st 731 AH, December 1330 AD), copied Muḥarram 736 AH (1) 1335 AD.

wa taqayyad bi -'āsfal min dālika mā naṣṣu-h muttaṣilan
 bi-h bi-smi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm ṣallā llāhu ^Calā
 sayyidinā wa-muwal'ānā muḥammadin wa-'ālihi wa sallama
 taslīman
 bā^Ca bi-muqtaḍī l-'amr l-karīm l-muntasak fawq hādā
 li-l-muṣarrif bi-wādī 'ašā wa-sanad-hā muḥammad bnu
 sa^Cd bnu sayyid 'abīh 'aḡmala allāhu kulāṣa-h min
 l-malā' l-maḍkūrīn ba^Cd wa-hum l-qāyid l-'aḡal l-'a'azz
 l-'asnā l-'akram l-'afḍal l-'arfa^C l-'amḡad 'abū ^Calī ḥasan
 bnu l-qāyid l-'aḡal l-'afḍal l-'akmal l-mawqar l-mabrūr
 l-marḥūm 'abī ^Cabd 'allāh muḥammad bnu 'ibrahīm l-'azdī
 l-ḡarrāf wa l-fāris l-mukarram l-'amḡad l-wazīr l-mabrūr
 'abū l-ḥakam mālik bnu š-šayk l-'akrim wa l-'asnā l-mabrūr
 l-marḥūm 'abī tammām ḡālib bnu mu^Cāwid l-balawī
 warruḥt (2) sittat l-musammūn ba^Cd - min ahl l-qaṣr
 min ḥiṣn šariš ḥamā-hu allāhu ta^Calā wa-hum l-ḥāḡḡ
 l-mukarram 'abū ^Cabd allāh muḥammad bnu yūsuf bnu walīd
 l-kalbī wa-l-ḥāḡḡ 'abū ^Cul'a rifā^Cat bnu 'aḥmad bnu
 rifā^Cat l-ḡasānī wa 'abū zakariyyā yaḥyā bnu muḥammad
 bnu ^Cammār l-ḥimyarī wa-'abū yaḥyā bnu ^Calī bnu yazīd
 l-ḡasānī wa 'abū l-ḥusayn bnu yazīd bnu rifā^Cat l-ḡasānī
 wa 'abū l^Culāi bnu bi-l-^Culā l-ḡasānī ḡamī^C mā yuḍkar
 ba^Cd min 'amlāk l-mukṭaṣ l-kāynat bī-ḡabal šulayr min
 ḥiṣn šariš wa-dālika l-ḡihati ma^Carūfat bi-bugunyān

1 González Palencia (1940:337ff).

2 sic in Arabic transcription, possibly a misprint raḥt.

Cenete 1187: González Palencia (1940:341ff). Part II.

منه قابل به باصله المنتسخه منه هذا والفاه مماثلة الحرف بالحرف الآ ما
كان فيه من تمزيقة تبين حروفه؟ وبقي مواضع البيض ونقلت شهادة شهود
بعد المقابلة والتصحيح في منسسخ رمض المعظم عام خمسة وثمانين
وسنماية

Cenete 1330: González Palencia (1940:341ff). Part I

وتفيد باسفل من ذلك ما نصه متصلا به باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى
الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وآله وسلم تسليما
باع بمقتضى الامر الكريم المنتسخ فوق هذا للمشرف بوادي اشى وسندها
محمد بن سعد بن سيد ابيه اجمل الله خلاصة من الملاء المذكورين بعد وهم
القايد الاجل الاعز الاسنى الاكرم الافضل الارفع الامجد ابو على حسن بن القايد
الاجل الافضل الاكمل الموقر المبرور المرحوم ابي عبد الله محمد بن ابراهيم
الازدى الغراف والفارس المكرم الامجد الوزير المبرور ابو الحكم مالك بن الشيخ
الاكرم والاسنى المبرور المرحوم ابي تمام غالب بن معاود البلوى والرُطبة الستة
المسمون بعد من اهل القصر من حص شريش حماة الله تعالى وهم الحاج
المكرم ابو عبد الله محمد بن يوسف بن وليد الكلبي والحاج ابو العلا رفاعه بن
احمد بن رفاعه الغساني وابو زكريا يحيى بن محمد بن عمار الحميري وابو يحيى
بن على بن يزيد الغساني وابو الحسين بن يزيد بن رفاعه الغساني وابو العلى
بن بى العلى الغساني جميع ما يذكر بعد من املاك المختص الكاينة بجبل
شليخ من حص شريش وذلك الجهة المعروفة ببقيان والجهة المعروفة بفج
بن ثابت والجهة المعروفة بفج النسيبة والجهة المعروفة ببغار مع رحل
الحريق والجهة المعروفة بوادي القصر والارض المعروفة بارنالة والجهة [المعروفة]
بالسلج والمليك وشرة المحدود كل ذلك أولا وثانيا وثالثا ورابعا وخامسا
وسادسا وتامنا من الالقاب المحدودة في عقد السداد المنتسخ متصلا بالامر
المنتسخ فوق هذا بجميع ما لذلك كله من الحقوق والحرم والمنافع
والمرافق والمسارح والمداخل والمخارج وشروب المياه وعلى ان ينفرد القايد
ابو على والفارس ابو الحكم مالك المذكوران أولا بالنصف الواحد من جميع
المبيعه المذكور ما عدى الارض المعروفة بارنالة بالسوا بينهما وعلى الاشاعة
وينفرد الستة المذكورون من اهل القصر بالنصف الثاني من جميع المبيعه
وارض ارنالة بالسوا بينهم على الاشاعة بيعا صحيحا جائزا تاما بيّنا صريحا منعقدا
لم يتصل به شرط مفسد ولا ثنيا ولا خيار
عرف المبتاعون المذكورون قدره ومبلغه ولم يجهلوه بثمن مبلغه بجميع
ما ذكر ثلاثة الاف دينار وثمانماية دينار وخمسون دينارا من الفضة الكبير مبلغه
ما انتهى اليه سومة وثبت السداد به حسبا فسر في العقد فوق هذا النصف من
ذلك بالحلول والنصف الثاني بالتاخير لانقضا اكتوبر الاتى قريبا لتاريخه وخلص
للمتباعين المذكورين ملك المبيعه المذكور على حسب التجزئة المذكورة خلوصا
صحيحا وحلوا فيه محل ذى المال فى ماله وذى الملك فى ملكه على السنة
ذلك فى

wa-l-ğihat ma^Carūfat bi-fağ bnu t̄ābit wa-l-ğihat ma^Carūfat
 bi-fağ s-saybat wa-l-ğihat ma^Carūfat bi-batrār ma^Ca raḥal
 lḥarayq wa-l-ğihat ma^Carūfat bi-wādī l-qaṣr wa l-ʿard
 ma^Carūfat bi-ʿarnālāh wa-l-ğihat [l-ma^Carūfat] bi-s-saliğin
 wa l-mulīl wa širrah l-maḥdūd kull dālika ʿawwalan
 wa t̄āniyan wa t̄ālatan wa-rābi^Can wa-kāmisan wa-sādisun wa-
 t̄āminan min l-ʿalgāb l-maḥdūdat fī^Caqd s-sadād l-muntasak
 muttaşilan bi-l-ʿamr l-muntasak fawq hādā bi-ğamī^C mā li-
 dālika kull-h min-l-ḥuqūq wa-l-ḥarum wa l-manāfi^C
 wa-l-marāfiq wa-l-masāriḥ wa l-madākīl wa-l-makāriğ wa
 šurūb l-miyah wa ʿalā ʿan yanfarid l-qāyid ʿabū ʿalī
 wa-l-fāris ʿabū l-ḥakam mālik l-maḍkūrān ʿawwalan bi-n -nişf
 l-wāḥid min ġamī^C l-mabī^C l-maḍkūr mā ʿadā l-ʿard
 l-ma^Carūfat bi-ʿarnālāt bi-sawā bayn-humā wa- ʿalā
 l-ʿiṣā^Cat wa-yanfarid -sittat l-maḍkūrūn min ahl l-qaṣr
 bi-n-nişf t-tānī min ġamī^C l-mabī^C wa-ʿard ʿarnālāt
 bi-sawā bayn-hum ʿalā l-ʿiṣā^Cat bay^Can şaḥīḥan ġāyzen tāmān
 bayyanan şarīḥan min ʿaqdan lam yattaşil bi-h şart
 mufsid wa-lā tunyan wa-lā kiyār
 ʿarafa l-mubtāʿūn l-maḍkūrūn qadar-h wa-mablağh wa lam
 yağhalū-h bi-tāman mablağh bi-ğamī^C mā dukira talātāt
 ʿalāf dīnār wa-tāmān māyat dīnār wa-kamsūn dīnārān min
 l-fiḍat bi l-kabīr mablağ mā ʿintḥā ʿilayh sawmaḥ wa-tabata
 s-sadād bi-h ḥasbumā fūsira fī l-ʿaqd fawq hādā n-nişf min
 dālikabi-l-ḥulūl wa-n-nişf t-tānī bi-t-tākīr l-ʿinqdā'
 ʿuktū-bar l-ʿatī garīban li-tārīk-h wa-kalaşa l-l-mutbā^Cin
 l-maḍkūrīn milk l-mabī^C l-maḍkūr ʿalā ḥasb t-tağiziyat
 l-maḍkūrat kulūşan şaḥīḥan wa-ḥallū fī-h maḥalla dī l-māl
 fī māl-h wa dī l-mulk fī mulkh ʿalā s-sunāt dālika fī (1)

وكان امضاء التبايع والبيع في ذلك بعد التسويق والاجتهاد والاشادة به
كما ذكر حتى لم تُلَفْ زائد على ما ذكر وشهد على المبتاعين السبعة
المذكورين بما فيه عنهم من اشهدوه به على انفسهم وسمعه منهم وترفع
في الصحة والجواز وعلم التسوية والاجتهاد كما ذكر وفي اول ربيع الاول
عام احد وثلاثين وسبعماية

ووقع الاتفاق بين المبتاعين الستة المذكورين من اهل القصر والمبتاعين
ابي على حسن وابي الحكم المذكورين قباهم في قسمة الماء الغاط من الجبل
بنصفين اثنين النصف ينفرده الستة المذكورون من اهل القصر سوا بينهم
والنصف الثاني ينفرده ابو على وابو الحكم المذكوران سوا بينهما يسقيان
به املاكهما بقرى القصر المجاورة لحصن شريش من قرى وادي اث وادي اث
والبنيان وفجر الحوزا وتكون قسمة كما ذكر في خروج الماء من الحجر
المقطوع لساقية القصر باراء الولجة هناك المعلومة لابن رفاعة تشاهرا لما
يقابل من ساقية نوش ومهمى احتيج الى الماء بقرية القصر وقرى وادي اث
فلهم تهبط من الجبل لسقي زروعهم ولا يلتفت لما يكون بالجبل من زرع
مزدريج ولا يسقى مهمى اضطر وكثرة الحاجة الى الماء بالقرى المذكورة اتفاقا
ناما تعلموا قدره والزموا انفسهم حكمه واشهدوا به على انفسهم في صحتهم
وجوارهم وترفعهم في التاريخ ووافق البايع المشرف المذكور على ذلك كله
في التاريخ من نظيرين اثنين ابراهيم بن محمد بن الخيز البكري كتب ومحمد
بن ابراهيم بن يحيى الانصارى وكرر الشهادة بسبب التمزيق انتهت
وبقي شهادة البها من الاصل من حيث وقعت فيه بعد المقابلة والتصحيح
للجميع في محرم عام ستة وثلاثين وسبعماية

محمد بن فرج بن محمد بن حذلم * وابراهيم بن محمد بن احمد *
ومجاهد بن محمد البصري * ويوسف بن حسن بن غصن شهد * وقاسم
بن محمد بن احمد بن قاسم العسائي شهد * اعلم باكتفائه على بن
عبد الله بن الحسن انتهى

wa-kāna 'imḍa' t-tabāy^C wa-l-bay^C fī-dālika ba^Cd
 t-tasuwīq wa-l-'iğ-tihād wa l-'išādat bi-h kamā ḍukira
 ḥattā lam 'alifa zāyd ^Calā mā ḍukira wa šahada ^Calā
 l-mubtā^Cin s-sab^Cat l-maḍkūrīn bimā fīh ^Canhum man
 'ašhadū-h bih ^Calā 'anfus-h sama^Ca-h min-hum wa ^Carifa-h
 fī ṣ-ṣḥḥat wa-l-ğawāz wa-^Calima t-tasu-wīq wa-l-'iktihād
 kamā ḍukira wa-fī 'awwal rabī^C l-'awwal ^Cām 'ahda wa-
 talātīn wa- sab^C māyat
 wa-waq^Ca l-'ittafāqu bayn l-mubtā^Cin s-sittat l-maḍkūrīn
 min ahl l-qasr wa-l-mubtā^Cin 'abī ^Calī ḥasan wa- abī-l-
 ḥakam l-maḍkūrayn qabala-hum fī qismat l-mā' l-hābṭ min
 ġabal bi-niṣfayn iṭnīn n-niṣf yanfarid bi-h s-sittat
 l-maḍkūrūn min ahl l-qasr sawā bayn-hum wa-n-niṣf t-tāmī
 yanfarid bi-h 'abū ^Calī wa- 'abū-l-ḥakam l-maḍkūrān sawā
 bayn-humā yasqiyān bi-h 'amalāk-humā bi-qurā l-qasr
 l-muğāwi-rat li-ḥiṣn šarīš min qurā wādī 'aš wa-hiya
 nūš wa-l-bunyān wa-faḥz l-ḥawzā wa-takūn qisma-hu
 kamā ḍukira fī kuruğ l-mā' min l-ḥağar l-maqtū^C li-
 sāqiyat l-qasr bi-izā' l-walağati hunā-ka l-mu^Calūmat
 li-'ibn rifā^Cat tašāṭuran limā yuqābil-h min šāqiyat nūš
 wa-mahmā 'uḥtīğa 'ilā l-mā' bi-qaryat l-qasr wa-qurā
 wādī 'aš fa-la-hum tahbīt-h min l-ğabal li-saqī zarū^C-h=m
 wa-lā yaltafit-h limā yakūn bi-l-ğabal min zaru^C
 muzdar^Cin wa-lā yusqā mahmā 'iḍturra wa-kaṭīratī l-ḥāğat
 'ilā l-mā' bi-qurā l-maḍkūrat 'itifāqan tāmān ^Calimū
 qadar-h wa-z-zamū 'anfus-h=m ḥukma-h wa-šahdū bi-h ^Calā
 anfus-h=m fī ṣḥḥat-h=m wa-ğawāz-h=m wa-^Canfu-hum fī t-tārīk
 wa-wāfaqa l-bāy^C l-muṣarriḥ l-maḍkūr ^Calā dālika kull-h fī
 t-tārīk min naẓīrayn 'iṭnayn 'ibrahīm bnu muḥammad

bnu l-kayr l-bakrī kataba wa-muḥammad bnu 'ibrahīm bnu
 yaḥya l-anṣārī wa karrara š-šahādat bi-sabab t-tamziq
 'antah^{ht}
 wa-nuqila šahādah 'ilay-hā min l-āsl min ḥaytu waqa^cat
 fī-h ba^cd l-muqābalat wa-t-taṣḥīḥ li-l-ḡamī^c fī
 muḥarram ^cām sittat wa-ṭalātīn wa-sab^cmāyat muḥammad
 bnu faraḡ...(1)

Translation

The following, entered at the bottom of this, says, as from In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. The blessing of God be on our sovereign Lord Muḥammad and his family, and His utmost peace !

Complying with the noble wish - as written above - expressed by the mušarrif of Guadix and Cenete, Muḥammad Ibn Sa^cd - May God... - the latter sells to the noble Lords: 'Abū ^cAlī Ḥasan, the illustrious, honourable, high, famed, virtuous, proud, highborn governor, son of the late governor, the illustrious, virtuous, honoured, respected... 'Abū ^cAbdallāh Muḥammad...al-Azdi al Ḡarraf ; the honourable knight, highborn vizier, the virtuous 'Abū l-Ḥakam Mālik, son of the late sheik, the honourable ... 'Abū Tammān Ḡālib...al-Balawī and to the group of six men from the castle of the fort of Jerez - May God protect it and may He be exalted! - and they are as follows: the honourable hadji 'Abū ^cAbdallāh...al-Kalbi; the hadji Abu Rifā^ca...al-Ḡasāni; Abu Zakarriya...al-Himyari; 'Abū Yaḥya...al-Ḡasāni; 'Abū l-Ḥusayn...al-Ḡasāni; 'Abū-^cUlā...al-Ḡasāni

all the estates, described below, of the private property [of the king] located on Mt Sulayr of fort Jerez and these are known as Buqunyan, Tabit hill, al-Sayba hill, Batrar, al-ḥurayq homestead, Castle Valley, the piece of land called Arnala, Sulḡin, al-Mukil and širra. All these properties have as their boundaries, consecutively described from first to eighth, in the legalized document copied jointly with the abovementioned order. With all rights and privileges, the uses and facilities, the right of way, the entrances and the exits and watering places on the condition that the first half of what was sold shall belong exclusively, as a whole, in equal share to the abovementioned governor 'Abū 'Alī and the knight 'Abū l-Ḥakam Mālik, with the exception of the piece of land called Arnala, and that the second half shall belong solely to the six above mentioned from the inhabitants of the castle, including Arnala, in equal shares in a binding sale, legal, complete, clear, correct, with no clause, impediment nor option invalidating it.

The buyers are informed of its price and liability and are aware of all relevant points, at the price of,- the sum of which is 3,850 silver dinars in large coins- which meets the agreed price quoted in the above document. The first half is to be paid at the beginning and the latter half by instalment at the end of the following October, as from the date of this document.

The ownership of [the land] sold is handed over to the . aforementioned buyers, in accordance with their shares, whereby they may occupy the sold estates by right and by deed, as stated by law in such matters.

Agreement was reached and the sale was finalized [the estates] having been put up for auction, having sought the highest [possible] price, as previously mentioned, and in view of the fact that no higher offer was made. The following act as witnesses on behalf of the seven buyers, in all that may concern them, in what was said, in what they heard, sound of mind and body, in full knowledge of the bid and attempt to reach a higher price, as stated. Dated 1st rabī^c- 1st 731 [AH].

An agreement was reached between the six buyers of the castle and the other two 'Abū 'Alī Ḥasan and 'Abū Ḥakam, in sharing the water that runs down from the mountains, equally, in two shares, one share for the sole use of [the party of] six from the castle, divided into six equal shares, and the other for the sole use of 'Abū 'Alī and 'Abū Ḥakam divided [the latter] into two equal shares that they may thus irrigate their properties in the district of the castle, in the vicinity of fort Jerez in the district of Guadix, namely: Nuš, al-Bunyān and Faḥṣ al-Hawzā. The water will be divided, as stated, as it comes forth from the Broken Rock passage towards the irrigation ditch of the castle, opposite the cave there - known as Ibn Rifā^c's - half of what flows in the Nuš channel - What water is needed in the district of the castle and that of Guadix, they will draw from the mountain to irrigate their crops, they will not redirect the water to any crop in the mountain, they will not irrigate at each other's expense, so great is the need for water in those districts.

The agreement is binding on those who know its extent and their obligation. They bear witness on their behalf, being sound in mind and body, acknowledging it as from the date [of the document].

The seller, the abovementioned al mušarrif, that day agreed to all [with] from the two naẓirs Ibrahīm Ibn Muḥammad al Bakrī and Muḥammad Ibn Ibrahīm...al-Anṣārī. The statements were rewritten because they had become erased.

The statements were copied from the original exactly, checked and having made sure as to its faithfulness. Muḥarram 736 [AH].
Muḥammad Ibn Faraġ et al.

No excuse will be made for quoting and transliterating these documents in full. Complete texts, relating to everyday life, are a rarity. Besides their linguistic value, they afford us with vivid descriptions of events in country surroundings. We see common sense prevailing in the settlement of a water dispute and the sharing out the water with the arrival of new owners. No less does one admire the pragmatic quality in the administration of Islamic law. Documents are copied when they become illegible through "wear and tear". The latter document strikes us as a stylistic model for bills of sale in C14. It reflects the fashion for pompous titles, that may have started with honorific titles chosen by the mulūk at-ṭawā'if, the local rulers of C11-C12. It contains an exhaustive list of legal formalities, from the written command, to the auction to the final agreement in the presence of the naẓirs and the taking up possession of the property. Consequently the language is rich in forms, although less so in syntactic patterns.

1. Word order: VSO.

2. Triliteral derivation: They show a wealth of forms:

RaḥMān -- Raḥīm -- maRḥūMu (1)

Karīm -- aKRīm -- muKarRaM

SQY: li SaQī lā yuSQ(Y) yaSQūYānī li-SāQīYat

3. As in the previous text, case endings are assumed to be still in use: bi-izā' l-walaḡatī, min zaru^C muzdar^Cin, together with the existence of the dual in:

niṣf :: niṣfayn (it-nān)

hum :: humā

wazīr :: naẓīrayn

1 on whom God has pity, hence the late.

However *niṣfayn*, *naẓīrayn* are followed by *iṭnayn* which is redundant. This may be an instance of hypercorrection, which occurs when a form or a linguistic habit is no longer well understood or mastered. A deviant form appears to compensate for the flaw in the competence.

We find:

6. V → ∅ deletions clauses. See 7.

wa - hum l-ḥāǧǧ l-mukarram 'abū ^Cabd allāh ...
[I V→∅ N N N] .

fa la-hum tahbīt -hum min l-ǧabal
[I V-∅ I N N I N]

7. wa [...] fa [...] coordination

wa takūn qisma-h ... fa la-hum tahbīt -h
[I V] [I V→∅]

There is a semantic difference in the use of fa, as it expresses a resulting action: so, therefore, etc., and this meaning fades in later formal texts and is less frequent already in the written vernacular; see Table 1.

. Subordination

10. V ^Calā 'an: wa ^Calā 'an yanfarid l-qāyid 'abū ^Calī
[I I V N]

12. but also kamā v: wa l-'išādat bih kamā dukira
I N I N [I V]

which has not occurred so far in our corpus but is common (1).

There is less relativization than in the previous document, where all patterns occurred.

13. ǧamī^C mā yuḍkar
N [N V]

. Negative formation consists in:

17. lā v (imperfective): wa-lā yaltafit-h
[I I(neg) V ...]

1 Corriente (1977:135).

18. lam V: lam yattasil šarṭ mufsid
 [I(neg) Ṽ N N]

What is new, and consistent with the other stylistic devices we mentioned, is the profusion of exhortations, referring not only to the deceased and the present ruler, but extended to other people and even things:

muḥammad bnu sa^Cd ... 'aḡmala llāhu
 ḥiṣn šariš ḥamā-hu llāhu ta^Calā

These may be considered as appositions at the level of syntax.

19. Apart from Baṭrār (1), of possible Romance origin, there is an interesting loan: uktūbara "Octubre" October. Did they use the Christian solar calendar as well as the Muslim one? Can this be explained by the fact that the solar calendar is more useful in agricultural matters? Here the date is related to payments; would this be when the harvest or the crops had been assessed?

The third document takes us to the last years of existence of Al-Andalus.

Rent agreement and water rights, between the villages of Cogollos and Jerez, for a period of 35 years, dated 1st Dūl-ga^Cda 883 AH - January 24th 1479 (2). It is followed by a brief comment in Spanish by the official translator to the Kingdom of Granada.

1 "Petrair derived from petra, stone". Common place name, see Doc. 7, Saragossa MSS appendix 2, "Baṭrūr".
 2 González Palencia (1940:375-6).

bi-smi llāhi l-K

'akrā min ahl qaryat ququlluš muḥammad bnu muḥammad bnu
 Cāmīr wa 'aḥmad bnu Cālī l-musaddad wa muḥammad bnu
 muḥammad t-ṭabarnašī wa Cabd allāh bnu 'abī yaḥya bnu
 hilāl wa-kayr bnu muḥammad l-musaddad wa-kayr bnu Cāšūr
 t-ṭaybīlī wa- 'abū bakr bnu Cabd allāh l-'īsālī wa-
 muḥammad bnu muḥammad l-bašārī wa-muḥammad bnu kayr
 bnu hilāl wa 'aḥmad bnu muḥammad l-ḡarbī wa-yūsuf bnu
 muḥammad l-ḡarbī wa 'aḥmad bnu saCīd Caskar wa-muḥammad
 bnu yūsuf l-Cutbī li-nafṣ-h=m wa-li-sāyir l-ḡāmiC at min
 ahl qar-yat ququlluš saw-ā bayn ḡamīC-h=m wa-Citidālan
 min l-kāffat min ahl ḥiṣn šarīš wa-hum 'aḥmad bnu Cālī
 l-ḥaddād wa Cālī bnu yazīd l-fāridī wa-yaḥya bnu muḥammad
 l-ḡazzār wa- 'aḥmad bnu muḥammad l-ḡazzār wa-Cālī bnu
 'aḥmad? l-ḡasānī?(1) wa 'ibn-h l-ḥāḡḡ muḥammad wa 'aḥmad bnu
 muḥammad l-ḡazzār wa-muḥammad bnu muḥammad bnu Cubayd wa-
 muḥammad bnu yaḥya l-ḥāzidī wa- 'abū l-qāsim bnu yaḥīn(2)
 l-ḥāzidī wa-muḥammad bnu muḥammad l-ḥaddād wa Cāšūr bnu
 Cālī l-ḥāzidī wa-muḥammad bnu ḥasan l-farrān wa-muḥammad
 bnu 'aḥmad bnu ṣāhib ṣ-ṣalāt wa- 'abū Cālī bnu muḥammad bnu
 sahl ...(3) wa-muḥammad bnu 'abd r-raḥmān l-kālīdī wa-
 muḥammad bnu muḥammad bnu ḥakam wa-muḥammad bnu Cālī bnu
 sarrāḡ wa abū l-qāsim bnu Cumar n-nawārīlī wa-muḥammad
 bnu yaḥya...(3) wa-kayr bnu 'aḥmad bnu 'abd r-raḥmān
 wa-Cāmīr bnu 'aḥmad l-ḥaddād ḡamīC l-mā' l-hābiṭat min
 'ard šarīš Cālā kandaqā l-tūšar wa-li-tuba maC a mā

[_____ = Romance loans]

- 1 GP ed: doubtful reading.
- 2 HJB: sic yaḥya.
- 3 GP ed: wear or tear.

Cenete 1479: González Palencia (1940:375ff).

بسم الله الخ

أكرى من أهل قرية قفلش محمد بن محمد بن عامر وأحمد بن علي المسدد
ومحمد بن محمد الطبرنشي وعبد الله بن أبي يحيى بن هلال وخير بن محمد
المسدد وخير بن عاشور الطيبي وأبو بكر بن عبد الله الأيسالي ومحمد بن
محمد البشاري ومحمد بن خير بن هلال وأحمد بن محمد العربي ويوسف بن
محمد العربي وأحمد بن سعيد عسكر ومحمد بن يوسف العتبي لأنفسهم
ولسائر الجامعة من أهل قرية قفلش سوى بين جميعهم واعتدالا من الكافة
من أهل حصن شريش وهم أحمد بن علي الحداد وعلي بن يزيد الفاردي
ويحيى بن أحمد الجزار وأحمد بن محمد الجزار وعلي بن أحمد الغساني
وابنه الحاج محمد وأحمد بن محمد الجزار ومحمد بن محمد بن عبيد ومحمد
بن يحيى الحازدي وأبو القاسم بن يحيى الحازدي ومحمد بن محمد الحداد
وعاشور بن علي الحازدي ومحمد بن حسن القران ومحمد بن أحمد بن صاحب
الصلاة وأبو علي بن محمد بن سهل ومحمد بن عبد الرحمن
الخالدي ومحمد بن محمد بن حكيم ومحمد بن علي بن سراج وأبو القاسم
بن عمر اللوارلي ومحمد بن يحيى الو بن خير بن أحمد بن عبد الرحمن
وعامر بن أحمد الحداد جميع الماء الهابطة من أرض شريش على خندق
توشر ولتب مع ما يستقر فيهما من مصالاة الفراعين الواصلتين لهما لمدة من
خمسة وثلاثين عاما تنقضي من تاريخه ليذكوا بالماء المذكور إلى قريتهم
المذكورة وفحصها وإلى حيث ينتفعون به من القرية المذكورة بمائة فدح
واحدة من الزرع في كل عام ثمانون قدحا من الشعير وعشرون قدحا من
القمح ويعدد ذلك في كل عام إلى أن ينقضي الامد المذكور على شرط أن
لا يتعدى أحد من أهل قفلش إلى قلب ساقية من سواقي شريش بالحدائق
المذكورين لتكثر الماء فيه ومن تعدى منهم يقب ? ساقية من شريش لما
ذكر فلاهل شريش منهم من ذلك والشكاية بحق فعل ذلك منهم واعترف
أهل شريش المذكور أن الزرع المذكور يكون جميعها موقفا يصرف ثمنه في بناء
مساجد حصنهم ومن حضر هذه العقدة المذكورة بين الفريقين ويعرف إلى
الحاضرين منهم المذكورين هم ? أهل أشع وأفضل منهم وأولها من عرفهم
وأشهد الجميع بما فيهم ويعرفهم بحال صحة وجواز قيد شهادته في أول
ذي القعدة عام ثلاثة وثمانين وثمان مائة

هلال بن سعيد المؤذن * وعلي بن محمد ? الغدوبي

أعلم بثبوت محمد بن علي بن محمد بن علي الطنجي وفق الله معلما
علي من يقف عليه

•Yo, Juan Rodríguez, escribano romançador de las escrituras
arábigas en Granada y su reyno por su Mag^a, romançé lo de suso
contenida e lo corregi en Granada a XVI de março de mill y qui-
nientos y quarenta y nueve años. — Juan Rodríguez.

yastaqirru fī-h-mā min muṣālat l-farā^Cayn (1) l-wāṣalatayn
 li-h-mā li-muddat min kamsat wa ṭalātīn^C āmā tanq-adī
 min tārīkh li-yazkiyū bi-l-mā' l-maḍkūr 'ilā qar-yat-h-m
 l-maḍkūrat wa-fah-ṣ-hā wa 'ilā haytu yantafi^Cūn bi-h min
 l-qar-yat maḍkūrat bi-māyat qadaḥ wa-aḥidat (2) min z-zar^C
 fī kull 'ām ṭamānūn qadaḥan min š-ša^Cīr wa^Ci-šarūn qadaḥan
 min l-qamḥ wa-ya^Caddid dālika fī kull 'ām 'ilā 'an yanqadī
 l-amad l-maḍkūr^C alā šart 'an lā yat^Caddī 'aḥad min ahl
 ququlluš[✓] 'ilā qalb sāqiyat min sawāqī šarīš bi-l-kandaqīn
 maḍkūrīn li-taktir l-mā' fī-h wa-man ta^Caddā min-hum
 yuqallib sāqiyat? (3) min šarīs (4) lammā dukira fī-l-ahl
 šarīš mana^Ca-hum min dālika wa-š-šikāyat bi-ḥaqq
 fu^Cila dālika min-hum wa-^Ctarafa ahl šarīš[✓] l-maḍkūr
 anna z-zar^C l-maḍkūr yakūn ḡamī'an mawqifan yaṣrif ṭaman-h
 fī banā' masāḡid ḥiṣn-h-m wa-man ḥadara ḥad-h (5) l-^Caqdat
 maḍkūrat bayn l-farīqayn wa-ya^Craf 'ilā l-hādīnīn min-hum
 l-maḍkūrīn hum? ahl 'ašā' wa 'afḍal? (3) min-hum wa
 awwalū man^C arafa-hum wa 'ašhad l-ḡamī' bi-mā fī-h-m
 wa-ya^Crif-hum bi-ḥāl ṣiḥḥat wa-ḡawāz quyida šahādat-h
 fī awwal dī l-qa^Cdat^C ām ṭalātāt wa-ṭamānīn wa-ṭamānī
 māyat. hilāl bnu sa^Cīd l-mu'addīn...

Comment in Spanish:

"Yo, Juan Rodríguez escribano romançador de las escrituras arábigas en Granada y su reyno por su Mag^d, romancé lo de suso contenido e lo corregí en Granada a XVI de março de mill y quinientos y quarenta y nueve años - Juan Rodríguez"

- 1 furū^Cayn: "branches".
- 2 HJB: possible 'iḡadat "produced".
- 3 GP ed: doubtful reading.
- 4 HJB: sic.
- 5 HJB: hādā-hu "loss of quantity".

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in the name of God, etc... On behalf of the village of Cogollos Mohamed Ibn Mohamed Ibn ^CĀmir and ... are renting for themselves and with the agreement of the aljama of the village of Cogollos, equally between them all, from the whole village of the Fort of Jerez, and they are: Ahmed Ibn ^CAlī l-Ḥaddād and ^CAlī Ibn Yazid el Faridi and ... - the whole of the water flowing from the land of Jerez along the two ditches of Tusar and Toba together with what comes to rest within the ditches from the infiltration of the two branches [or watercourses], for a period of thirty-five years as from the date, to rent? the said water to the above-mentioned village of theirs and their land - during their use of it for the above-mentioned village of theirs with a 100 keddahs [dry measures] produced as seed every year, 80 of barley and 20 of wheat, to be accounted for, every year until the contract expires. On the condition that nobody from the village of Cogollos crosses over to alter any of the irrigation ditches from the above-mentioned watercourses to increase the water in his. Should one of them do so to an irrigation ditch from Jerez, as stated, as regards the villagers of Jerez, they may stop them from this and complain by right, if this is done; and the village of Jerez acknowledges that the same grain is to be set aside, in its entirety, to pay the cost of the building of mosques in the fort of theirs. Those who were present to this agreement between both parties and who know both parties present among them: the most distinguished and eminent of them, having brought others to vouch for them, bear witness to the whole of it and know them [the villagers of Jerez] to be sound in health and mind. The statement was recorded on the 1st day of Dū l-qa'dat year 883. Hilāl Ibn Sa'īd el Mu'addin...

Spanish text: I, Juan Rodríguez, clerk translator for Arabic documents in Granada and kingdom, translated the above and corrected it in Granada. 16th March 1529. Juan Rodríguez.

The Arabic document above may be described as having:

1. V S O dominant with V S O reversals.

wa-^Ctarafa ahl šariš l-maḍkūr 'anna z-zar^C l-maḍkūr yakūn ḡamī^C_{an}
 [I V N [I N V N ...]

2. Derived forms from an original triliteral root, i.e.

R R R, a process that is still viable.

ya^Caddid ~ yat^Caddī; qalb ~ yuqallibu

3. Case ending morphs

sawan bayn ḡamī^C-hum wa^Citidālan; qadaḥ qadaḥan

but concord in gender is erratic: l-mā' l-habiṭāt (fem) ::

l-mā' l-maḍkūr (mas).

5. Particles such as min, 'ilā have acquired an extended use.

min l-kāffat min 'ahl ḥiṣṇšariš

ya^Craf 'ilā l-ḥādirīn

6. Deleted V pattern:

wa hum 'aḥmad ...
[IV→ØN N ...]

8. See 1 and 17.

13. Relativization: ma^Ca mā yastaqirru fī-h-mā min muṣālat
[N V I N I N]

with no N (antecedent). Other instances in later Granadan Arabic.

14. Negation : 'an lā yat^Caddī 'aḥad min ahl ququlluš
[I I (neg) V N I N]

19. Loans: two place-names: ququlluš "Cogollos"; ṭabarnašī:
"de Tabernas".

Having reached the end of the period of Al-Andalus, let
us sum up our comments in table form.

Diachronic Table of Features for the Arabic Variety
of Granada, in the formal registers/styles

Features	Cenete d.1187	Cenete d.1336	Cenete d.1479
1.Word Order	+	+	VSO dominant with SVO reversals
.Morphemic alternations			
2.Derived forms RRR	+	+	+
3.Case ending morphs	+	+	+
4.Articles extended domain	-	-	-
5.Particles ext.domain	-	-	+
6.V → Ø	+	+	+
7.wa fa	+	+	-
.Subordination			
8.V 'an	+	-	+
9.V Li V	-	-	-
10. V ^C alā 'an	+	+	-
11. law V	+	-	-
12. kamā V	-	+	-
.Relativatization			
13. mā V	+	+	+
14. llaḍī V	+	-	-
15. llatī V	+	-	-
.No. of nested clauses	1 to 2	1	1 to 2
.Negation			
16. mā V	-	-	-
17. lā V	+	+	+
18. lam V	+	+	-
19. Romance loans	+	+	+
	2 place names	2	very few
Total	14	11	8

Change

Change between the first two texts is difficult to appreciate significantly. The first shows greater syntactic complexity in the range of patterns and embedded clauses; the second is more complex at the morphemic level. In the third indeed the loss of features is noticeable. The strict word order has become more flexible. Particles are extending their domain. Options as to subordination and relativization have diminished, reflecting, we think, a generalized process of simplification. Widespread simplification precedes a change of status for a language.

The diachronical comparison confirms, for the whole period, a minimal level of borrowing in this dialect (cf. Al-Qirbiliyānī's letter, at the end of this section).

In a previous section, we saw how of all literary creations it was in the least expected, poetry, that Spanish Arabic achieves some permanence. As Ibn Kaldūn explains:

"Muwashshahah poetry spread among the Spaniards. The great mass took to it because of its smoothness, artistic language, and the internal rhymes found in it. As a result, the common people in the cities imitated them. They made poems of the type in their sedentary dialect, without employing vowel endings. They thus invented a new form, which they called zajal. They have continued to compose poems of this type down to this time." (C14) (1)

We have selected a few such poems from the later period, and we shall observe whether any change or development in the language has taken place, in the genre, since the C11. The illustrations are from Ibn Khaṭīb, who lived longer than the other poets (o.b.1374), an anonymous poet, from al Lūshī (1279-

1 Al-muqaddima, Būlāq (1902:418) , translation Rosenthal (1958:VIII:404).

1351). All of whom are considered by the author as most representative of this type of poetry (1), to which we have added the kargas of the Dīwān of Ibn Khātima (1337).

I. Ibn Khaṭīb

al-bu^Cdu anka yā-b-nī / a^Czamu maṣābī
wa ḥīna ḥaṣal lī qurbik / naṣī-tu qarābī.

II. The next two quotations, according to Ibn Khaldūn, are in the "vulgar dialect": bi-luḡati-hum al-āmmiyyati.

lī dahri bi-^Ciṣq ḡufūnik wa-sinīn/wa- 'anta lā ṣafaqa-h wa lā qalba yalīn
ḥattā tarā qalbī min aḡalika kayf raḡ^C/ṣana^Cat s-sikka-h mā bayn haddādīn
ad-dumū^Cu tartaṣṣu (2) wa-n-nāru taltahibu/wa-l-maṭāriqu min šimāl wamin yamīn
kalaqa llāhu an-naṣārā li-l-ḡazū/wa-'ant taḡzū fī qulūbi l-āṣiqīn

Anonymous

Talla ṣ-ṣabāh qum ya nadīmī naṣrabū/wa-naḍḥakū min ba^Cd mā naṭrabū
sabīkat al-faḡri 'aḥallat ṣafaqā/fī mīlaqi l-layl fa-qūm qallabū
tarā ḡubāra kālīṣ abyada naqī/fidḍa-h huwa likan ṣ-ṣafaq dahabū.

al-Lūshī

Translation: (Rosenthal (1958:III:410-412))

I. To be away from you, son - is my great misfortune.

When I can be near you! I let my boat drift.

MSA: سبت , MSB: شبت , شبت (2). The next rhyme is read as garīb (boat) by Rosenthal and garāb "relations" by Būlāq. These variations illustrate the inaccessibility of Spanish-Arabic poetry.

II. A long time, years, I have loved your eyes
But you have no pity and no softness in your heart
You can see how my heart has become, because of you
Like a ploughshare in the smith's hands.
Tears stream down. Fire burns
Hammers to the right and the left.
God created the Christians to be raided
But you raid the hearts of your lovers.

Anonymous

1 Al-muqaddima, Būlāq (1902: 897-89v).

2 Būlāq (op.cit.): trš-š - Quatremère (1868:III) MSA trys;
MSB trs; MSD trtšf.

I' . | البعد عنك يا بني • أعظم مصابي • وحين حصل لي قريك • نبت فرايهم
وكان لعصر الوزير ابن الخطيب بالاندلس محمد بن عبد العزيم من أهل راذي آنس وكان

Ibn Khaṭīb, Būlāq (1902: ٥٩٦) Al-muqaddima .

وهذه الطريقة الزجلية لهذا العهد هي فن العامة بالاندلس من الشعر وفيها تنظمهم
حتى انهم لينظمون بها في سائر البصور الخجة عشر لكن بلغتهم العامية ويسمونه الشعر
الزجلى مثل قول شاعرهم

II . | لي دهر بعشق جفونك وسنين • وأنت لانسفقه ولا قلب يا بين
حتى ترى قلبي من أجلك كين يرجع • منفة السك ما بين الحدادين
الدموع ترشش والنار تذهب • والمطارق من شمال ومن يمين
خلق الله التصاري لاغزو • وأنت تغزو في قلوب العاشقين
وكان من المجدين لهذه الطريقة لأول هذه المائة الاديب أبو عبد الله الألويسي وله من
قصيدة مدح فيها السلطان ابن الأحمر

طل الصباح قم يا دعي نثرو • ونفهمك من بعد ما نظرو
سبيكة النجم راحلت نفقا • في ملاقى الليل قوم قلوبو
ترى غبار خالص أبيض نقي • فضة هولكن الشفق ذهبو
وسموا سكتو عند البشر • وز الجفون من نورها تكبو

Ibn Lūshī, Būlāq (1902: ٥٩٧ - ٥٩٦) Al-muqaddima .

Morning has come. Get up, O my boon companion, let us drink
 And be gay, after we have been moved by music!
 The gold ingot of dawn has rubbed [its] red colour
 Against the touchstone of the night. Get up and pour [the
 You will find it to be of pure alloy, white and clean. wine]!
 It is silver, but the red colour of dawn has made it golden.

The above statement by Ibn Kaldūn needs explaining: how different is this poetry? How dialectal is it and how divergent from the classical moulds? Certainly the script is not helpful. Were these lines recited in a regional accent? This is plausible, and consistent with the dropping of case ending morphs. Moreover, reconstruction is hindered by the fact that we do not know for sure whether the prosody was tonic or quantitative. We are left with lexicon and syntax. The collocation of lexical items does not seem to vary appreciably in these lines from what is expected or predicted for classical poetry.

What is indisputable is that case ending morphs are present:

II. fī qulūbī, fī mīlaqī

and that they may be deleted on prosodical grounds:

II. min šimāl, ṭalla ṣ-ṣabāh

There is not a single Romance loan.

This meagre result, apparently contradicting the statement, is possibly due to these factors:

i) As mentioned before, at this period there was a strong feeling prevailing in literary circles against writing anything "improper" as vernacular poetry was, however popular its recitation may have been.

ii) Scribes may have been "at work" correcting the original version. ^{consequently} We refer the reader to the Dīwān of Ibn Khātima, to be studied next. It is considered to be in the poet's hand (1) and is somewhat more informative.

We have selected four *karğas* from this collection of poems, edited, transliterated and analyzed by Soledad Gibert Fenech, as these verse forms allow by definition the greatest toleration of non-classical language. There are no *karğas* in Romance and the verse chosen illustrates the extreme rather than the average, in terms of vernacular usage.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>8. <i>Şubay</i> ^C<i>aşaqat rūmī</i>
 [N V N
 <i>wis naḥfiḥu l-lisān</i>
 V N]
 <i>'as-sa</i> ^C<i>a ḡā nuṣakil</i>
 N V
 <i>'āšiq biturḡamān. (1)</i>
 N I N]
 <i>ḡ=/ḡ/</i></p> | <p>10. <i>yā</i> ^C<i>aḡab kif tarid waṣlī sahal</i>
 [I N I V
 <i>wa 'anā huwa s-simāku-l-</i> ^C<i>ālī</i>
 [I N V-Ø N N N]
 <i>ḡad nuṣib rumḡu ḡaddī fī 'tidāl</i>
 [I V N N I N]
 <i>narmi bih kulla ḡalban sāli.</i>
 [V I N N]</p> |
| <p>11. <i>Şubay ḡuriḡ fa-n-najīl</i>
 [N N I N
 <i>rašša l-ḡabaḡ dammu</i>
 V N N]
 <i>billāḡ yā ṭayran maliḡ</i>
 [I N I N
 <i>ḡula l-jabar li ummu.</i>
 V N I N]
 <i>j=/k/</i></p> | <p>16. <i>likam yakūn ḡā-ṣ-ṣudūd</i>
 [I V N
 <i>wa n-nifār /</i>
 I N]
 <i>yā man sakan bayna ḡulu</i> ^C<i>i</i>
 [I N V I N]
 <i>'aš ya</i> ^C<i>ḡabak fī wulū</i> ^C<i>i</i>
 [I V I N]</p> |

Translation:

8. I fell for a Christian / his tongue I must learn.
 And lover and dragoman / to be both I do yearn.
10. How can you with my love be smooth?/For I am like the head
 star [refers to the unicorn-fish Arab constellation,
 Arcturus]/The lance of my shape reaches its aim/
 the heart, without pain.
11. Among the palms I fell wounded
 My blood shed I, upon the stock
 Oh God! Sweet bird, for His sake, go tell
 She who gave me life.
16. Until when shall you disdain?
 You live within my heart.
 How can I, from love, abstain?

1 We have followed Gibert Fenech's numeration:
 8: p.188; 10: p.196; 11: p.200; 16: p.218;
 and her Spanish version for the translation.

The feature analysis includes the findings of the above-mentioned study:

1. Word order is VSO ? with great flexibility.

2. Derivation from trilateral root:

^Cašaqat ~ ^Cāšiq; ^Cağab ~ ya^Cğabak

3. Case ending morphs: The trend towards the loss of case ending morphs, noticed in the last selection, is more obvious here:

subayyun -----> şubay 11.
l-kabara -----> l-kabar
li ummi -----> li-ummu

but not complete:

kulla qalban 10.
yā tayran 11.

5. Particles. We find a variety of new forms, which do not appear in the formal styles.

wis 8. for wa-as derived originally from ayyu šā'i

aš 16. an intermediate stage

kif 10. for kayf

fa 11. for fī

Expansion is reduced to a minimum: there are no embedded clauses.

6. V deletion:

wa 'anā huwa s-simāku l-^Cālī
[I N V→Ø N N]

19. Romance borrowing: nil.

Another dialectal feature is the occurrence of morpheme na V(imp.)

Initial hamza /ʔ/ is still retained in both selections of poetry (date: C14).

Change

C14 poetry confirms point by point the evolution observed in prose (diachronic table 7.3.1):

- . A more flexible word order.
- . Gradual loss of case ending morphs.

- . Generation of new particles
- . A reduction in complex subordination.

Within poetry, the change over the period C11 to C14 is as follows:

C11	C14
a) the <i>ḵarḡa</i>	
. A minority entirely in Romance	None
. Hybridization	None
b) <i>zaḡal</i>	
. Flexible word order	same
. <i>na</i> V(imp) for 1st pers.sing.	same
. Loss of final vowel in V	same: 10, <i>qaḍ nuṣib</i> 16, <i>man sakan</i>
. <i>aṣ</i> : occurrence of non-classical particles	proliferation of new particles
. subordination: average number of nested clauses per selection: 1 or 2	almost 0
. Hybridization	nil
. Romance loans	almost 0

But for the increase in new particles and a reduction in subordination, the *zaḡal* has not changed significantly; what is different is the avoidance of anything "*ʿaḡamī*", confirming defensive social attitudes mentioned in the introduction to this section.

After considering illustrations from the formal ranges of the linguistic competence of Arabic speakers in the Naṣīrid Kingdom and some poetry written in the vernacular as commented upon by Ibn Khaldūn, we turn to one of the few personal letters that have survived from that period (1). The text, dated end of C15, is from one Yūsuf al Qirbīliyyānī to his brother Muḥammad (2).

- 1 Seco de Lucena(1955:153): "There are very few sources indeed to which one may go to study the Arabic dialect spoken by Moslems in Spain. As one knows, Arabic speakers considered and still do so, that one should avoid writing as one speaks."
- 2 Seco de Lucena (1955:153ff). The English translation is based to some extent on his Spanish translation.

l-ḥamdu llāh

s-salām l-karīm ṭ-ṭayyib l^Camīm nakuṣṣ bi-h 'akī

muḥammad l-qirbiḷiyānī 'a^Cazza-h llāhu ya-sallimu

^Calay-kum muḥibb=kum 'akī-kum yūsuf l-qirbiḷiyānī

Laṭafa llāh [bihi]

wa-yā 'akrī 'i^Clam 'an waṣalat s-sabābiṭ matā' l-ibnat

ḡā 'a kabīr fataṣtarī ḡayr-h 'aṣḡar šuway wa-taṣtarī

lī šakīmat min ḡild maliḥat _ _ _ (1) wa-taṣtarī li-riḥayat

ḡaydat wa s-sulaywal taṣtarī-h la-nā wa-l-kubaybiṭ matā'

qabīl - - tarsal -h lī aw tamana-h 'in kāna inḡabarāt

wa-haḡā z-zirbiyat llaḡī 'arsaltī la-ka ta^Cmalī 'in kāna

la-ka ḡuhd 'anna ta^Cmalat dībā fi-kayr wa-'in kāna lā

fa-ta^Cmalī ḥisāb darāhim l-'aṣfar fī-mā 'anfaqt wa- bi-mā

baḡā yaṣalī bi-tafsīr muḡayyan wa-kirī l-muṣarayat tākud-h

wa-tarsal-h mā^Ca b-q-bat (2) darāhim l-'aṣfaru wa 'anā

nasullima 'alā l-'aṣfar wa-ta^Clam 'anna _ _ _ 'an mā

^Caṭyat-hu šay wa haḡā min-ka ^Cuwar wa kiyānat min-ka

bi-nāqiṣ wa-'anta taḡamilnī bi-l-kaḡab wa-l-ḡadar fa 'in

kāna mā tu^Cṭī d-darā-him fa-bālaka tuḡkul l-karm 'aṣlan

wa 'anā huwat rāḡil 'an naṣal matā^Cī wa-yā 'akrī 'an kāna mā

ya^Caṭī-k šay fa-kalli-h wa-lā tākud min-hu šay wa 'ida

nanfuḡ min l-mrāt 'an namšī naḡ^Cal kalāṣ fī-h fī-l-karm

wa-l^Cinab wa min ḡāḡti ^Canda-ka tukbir-nī fī ṣaḡhat l-karm

'in kāna ^Caṭīk taman 'awš ^Camalt wa kunnā ----.

wa- 'arsalt la-ka kāna 'ākar qabla haḡā wa-tarā-h yaṣil
[I V I N [V N I N]] [I V [V]]

wa-ta^Camd tamān bi-mā ḡukira fī-h wa-l-kurayḡat naṣal---
[I V I [N V IN]] [I N V]

_____ = Romance loan

V = vowel in text

1 S.deL. ed.: blank space due to wear or tear.

2 HJB: baqīyat "remainder".

al-Qirbīliyyānī's letter: Seco de Lucena (1955:153ff).

الحمد لله

السلام الكريم الطيب العليم. نخص به أخي محمد القربلياني [ني] أعزه الله
يسلم عليكم معكم اخيكم يوسف القربلياني لطف الله [به]
ويا أخي اعلم ان وصلت السبايط ومتى الابنة جاء كبير فتشترى غيره
اصغر شوي وتشترى لي شيعة من جلد مليحة ... وتشترى لي رحية
جيدة والسلول تشترى لنا والكبيبة متى قبل ... ترسله لي او ثمنه ان
كان انجبرت وهذا الزرية الذي ارسلت لك تعطي ان كان لك جهد ان
تعمله ذيب فخير وان كان لا تعطي حساب دراهم الاصفر فيما انفتت وبها
بقي يصلي بتفسير مبین وكري المصرية تاخذه وترسله مع بقية دراهم
الاصفر وانا نسلم على الاصفر وتعلم ان ... ان ما عطيت شي وهذا منك
عوار وخيانة منك بناقض وانت تحملني بالكذب والقدر فان كان ما تعطي
الدراهم فبالك تدخل الكرم اصلاً وانا هوت راجل ان نصل متاعي ويا أخي
ان كان ما يعطيك شي فخره ولا تاخذ منه شي واذا تنفذ من المرأة ان
نمشي نجعل خلاص فيه في الكرم والعنب ومن حاجتي عندك تخبرني في
صحة الكرم ان كان غصت ثمن او غصت ولنا ... وارسلت لك كان
آخر قبل هذا وتراه يصل وتمم له ... اما ذكر فيه والحريجه نصل...

Translation

Praise be to God!

Greetings to my brother Muḥammad l-Qirbilyānī .

May God exalt you! Your loving brother Yūsuf l-Qirbilyānī May God be gracious to him! sends you his wishes.

Learn, brother, that the shoes for the daughter have arrived, they were too big, so buy another smaller pair and buy a bridle of good quality leather ... and a fine pair of shoes and breeches and skeins for a hood. Send them home or tell me the cost. The rug, I am asking you for, if you can, see to it now. It would be better but if that can't be, give me an account of the dirhams [money] of the blond fellow, letting me know what you have spent and what is left. Let me know the detail. As for the rent of the attic, collect it and send it with the remainder of the dirhams of the blond fellow. Send him my greetings. Know that _ _ _ that you did not give him anything which, from you, was insulting and evil. Although you accuse me in vain, of begging and deception. Well if you do not give me the dirhams, don't you dare enter the vineyard, ever! I am a man of my word. If he does not give you anything, let it be and do not accept anything from the blond fellow. When I am finished with the wife's business, I'll go and settle the matter of the vineyard and the grapes. But you must tell me the truth about this, if he paid or what you did _ _ _ I have sent you another letter before this one, see if it got there and whether you did all I mentioned, and send me some small saddle bags.

. Word order: There is some variety in the word order, in a few strings such as:

wa s-sulaywal taštari-h la-nā
[I N V I N]

wa kirī l-maṣarayat tākuḍ-h
[I N N V]

but the dominant order is that of the invocations:

laṭafa llāhu
[V N]

which are set expressions in the most formal register (Cl.A.).

. Morphemic alternations

(N) (V) have the same proportion of trilateral roots as one meets in other Arabic texts. Yet one finds a loss of word boundary when assimilation takes place /l/ in final position and /l/ beginning the next component

yagal lī ----> yagalī
ta^omal lī ----> ta^omalī

This confirms the loss of inflection in the verb, a further stage in change after the loss of case, confirmed by the presence of the diacritic sukūn (pause) over the last consonant.

The 1st person singular of (V imperfective) components appears prefixed by na-; this is extended to la-nā (cf. North African Arabic dialects).

Articles are more frequent than in formal usage, compensating, possibly, for the semantic loss caused by the disappearance of case morphs, e.g.:

- 1) waṣ-sulaywal taštārī-h la-nā wa l-kubaybit
- 2) wa-kirī l-maṣarayat tā-kud-h
- 3) wa-l-kurayḡat naṣal

The article's function is to mark (N) for definiteness: from the context, in (1) the two (N) components are indefinite; in (2) the second (N) component is definite by word order; in (3) the situation is either that of (1) or not and, therefore, is ambiguous. In all three strings the article seems redundant. Another explanation would be to suggest that the article was appearing systematically and was no longer a matter of semantic choice.

In a similar fashion, particles such as li, matā' can only be accounted for as replacing case morphs, as in

'an waṣalat s-sabābiḡ matā' l-'ibnat
fa taštārī ḡayr-h :: wataštārī lī ṣakīmat ::
wataštārī lī-riḡayat

Li occurs more often than warranted in Classical Arabic. We may say that this letter, on the strength of this point and the other non-standard forms described above, is in the vernacular and that li, in this variety, may function as an object marker.

V → ∅ clause:

wa haḍā min-ka ^Cuwār
[IV→∅N I N N]

The underlying verb has been deleted in the surface string.

Contrary to what has been the case so far, in the lower ranges of the language continuum, this letter illustrates many types of expansion:

[wa...] and [wa...][fa...] coordination

[aw...]

and subordination patterns such as:

V'an : 'i^Clam 'an waṣalat...
[V [I v]]

as well as relativization, or expansion of the (N) component:

N Llaḍī V : z-zirbiyat llaḍī 'arsalti la-ka
N [N V I N]

N fī/bi-mā V: darāhim ... bi-mā baḡā
N [N V]

The sequence bi-mā, preposition, relative marker is common in Granada Arabic (1).

The average number of embedded clauses is: 2 to 3.

An unusually high figure for this register. We have accepted nested clauses as a measure of complexity. The higher the figure, the greater the complexity. Complex subordination is closely correlated to formal registers or style (2). This letter would contradict this hypothesis. Let it be said that it contains a great number of commands which require subordination; this in no way invalidates the counter-evidence.

. Negation

This is expressed by:

1 See 1479 legal document ma'a mā.

2 See Keenan (1975) "Case Hierarchy of the Relative Clause".

lā : ['in kāna lā] which is most unusual in other Arabic varieties.
 K V

or

mā : 'an mā ^Caṭyat-h šay
 [I neg V N]

As for dialectal traits, we note the occurrence of the following particles:

'anda-ka for 'indaka
 'awš for aw 'āš
 huwat for huwa (1)

Finally, we would like to take a closer look at the comparative pattern:

fa-taštārī ḡayr-h 'aṣḡar šūway
 [I V N N N]

These structures have not been considered before, as they are not of primary importance to our approach. Furthermore, they are not frequent in the texts consulted. Lehman, in his research into typological classification based on syntactic characteristics (2), observed that the comparative pattern is a reliable indication of the underlying word order of a language. The comparative construction is an expansion of an (N) component. The expansion comes either before or after the (N) component, the key factor is the position of the marker, the item that indicates the second member of the pair. If the marker follows the (N) component, then the language has an underlying VO (or VN) order. šūway, the marker in our example, comes last. Therefore this dialect is VN; this is also the case with Arabic.

Summary

The language continuum, for Arabic speakers of Al-Andalus late Cl5, expressed in terms of features, may be seen as follows:

- 1 Innovation derived from huwa; see note in SecodLucena (1955:162, 164).
- 2 Lehman, W.P. (1973:55 and elsewhere).

Formal
"Classical
Arabic -
Middle Arabic
by EI def.

VERNACULAR : GRANADAN ARABIC

Features

1479 Cenete Poetry

Al-Qirbiliyānī
c. 1489

Colloquial
Mixed
Forms

Cağamī
Romance

1. Order
2. Deriv.
3. Case
4. Articles
5. Particles
6. V → ∅
7. wa, fa
8. V 'an
9. V li V
10. V 'alā 'an
11. law V
12. kamā V
13. mā V
14. llaḍī V
15. llatī V
16. mā (neg)
17. lā V
18. lam V
19. loans

VSO dominant VSO?

VSO dominant

→ ∅

→ ∅

+

+

+

+

+

-

-

-

-

+

+

-

+

+

-

Features common to Maghribi Dialects

na V (imp.)

aš, awš

8/19

7/19

+dialectal
features

10/19

+dialectal
features

BORROWING LIMITED TO THE ODD LEXICAL ITEM.

Beyond their competence. No evidence of bilingualism.

Written competence only of a small minority.

7.3.2 Valencia

Regarding the Valencian corpus, let it be said that there is an imbalance created by the lack of available texts in more than one style. The search through anthologies and biographies reveals scarcely any literary figure with extant works from the C13 onwards other than Ibn Djubayr, the geographer from Játiva, who lived in the early C13. The following is an excerpt from his "travels", given as an illustration of some of the practical difficulties in dating the language of a text. The author went to the Near East towards the end of the C12. The queen mentioned in this passage died in 1186. The events described must have occurred shortly before. Was the original written during his voyage, or perhaps later, as recollections? Slane (1) notices the inconsistency there is in the description of the gully, which points towards a poor transcription of the original. How much has been omitted or "corrected"? Furthermore, what is the date of this copy? These questions are of primary importance to the linguist. Until further copies emerge, these questions will remain unanswered.

On the basis of Wright's comments: "His style is correct and generally fairly simple" (2), we shall assume it falls within a period of one or two centuries after the events:

*ka-'anna-hu l-kandaqu s-saḥīqu l-mahwā tultaqā ḥāffatā-hu
wa-yat'illaqu bi-s-samā' 'a'-lā-hu yu'rif bi-l-'astīl law
walaḡatuḥ l-'asākiru li-ḡābat fī-hi lā manḡā wa-lā maḡāla
li-sāliki-hi min yadi ṭ-ṭālbī fī-hi l-mahbiṭu 'ilā-hi wa-l-
maṭla'u 'an-hu 'aqabatān ka'ūdān fa-'aḡabanā min 'amri ḡālika*

1 Slane (1884:447).

2 Wright (cf. Slane p.444).

makān fa- 'ağaznā-hu wa-mašaynā 'an-hu yasīran wa- 'antahaynā
 'ilā hiṣnīn kabirīn min ḥuṣūni l-'ifranġi yu'rif bi-tibnīn
 wa-huwa mawḍi'u tamkīsi l-qawāfil wa-ṣāhibat-hu kinzīratin
 tu'rif bi-l-malikati hiya 'ummu l-maliki l-kinzīni ṣāhibi
 'akkati dammara-hā allāhu fa-kāna mabītunā 'asfala dālika
 l-ḥiṣni wa-mykkisa n-nāsu tamkīsan ġayr mustaqṣan
 wa-d-ḍarībatu fī-hi dīnāru wa-qīrāṭu min d-dānānīri
 ṣ-ṣūriyyati 'alī r-ra'si wa-lā 'itirāḍa 'alā t-tuġġāri fī-hi
 li-'anna-hum yaqṣidūna mawḍi'a l-maliki l-mal'ūni wa-huwa
 maḥallu t-ta'šīri wa-d-ḍarībatu fī-hi qīrāṭun mina d-dīnāri
 wa-d-dīnāru 'arba'at wa-'šrūn qīrāṭan wa 'aktaru l-mu'tariḍīn
 fī-hi hāḍā l-maksi l-maġāribatu wa-lā 'itirāḍa 'alā ġayri-
 him min ġamī'i bilādi l-muslimīni wa-dālika l-muqaddimat
 min-hum 'aḥfazat l-'ifranġu 'alay-him sababu-hā 'anṭāyifatan
 min 'anġādi-him ġaz-at ma'a nūri d-dīn raḥima-hu allāhu
 'aḥḍa l-ḥuṣn fa-kāna la-hum fī 'aḳḍi-hi ġinan zahara
 wa-'aštahara fa-ġāzā-hum l-'ifranġu bi-hāḍā-hi d-ḍarībatu
 l-makasiyyati lizamū-hā ru'ūs-hum fa-kullu maġribiyyu
 yazinu 'alī ra'sihī d-dīnāra l-maḍkūra fī 'iktīlāfi-hi
 'alī biladi-him.

Translation

"It was a vast trench, a gully, the edges of which met and [seemed] to reach the sky aloft, by the name of El-Astil. If armies should enter they would vanish into it. There is no shelter and no room for him who enters to manoeuvre in front of the pursuer, for there is a drop into it and a steep slope out of it, making it an inaccessible pass. We were amazed on this account by the place as we crossed it, and after a while we came out and reached one of the great castles of the Franks, known as Tibnin. This is the place where tolls are collected from the caravans. The owner is the sow, otherwise known as the queen [that is the] mother of the king, that pig, the master of Acre - May God destroy it! - Thus we stopped below it for the night; people came to collect the duties which are not heavy, at the rate of 1 dinar and 1 kirat, in Tyre currency, per head. It does not fall on the

تجده الرند بعيد العمق ذاته للندق الخندق المتهوى تلتقا حافتاه ويتعلق بالسما
اعلاه يعرف بالاسطيل لولوجته العساكر لغابت فيه لا مخفى ولا مجال لسالكة من
يد الطالب فيه المهبط اليه والمطلع عنه عقبتان كؤودان فحجبتنا من امر ذلك المكان
فاجزناه ومشينا عنه يسيرا وانتهينا الى حصن كبير من حصون الافرنج يعرف بتبنيين
وهو موضع تمكيس القوافل وصاحبته خنزيرة تعرف بالملكة هي ام الملك الخنزير صاحب
عكة دمرها الله فكان مبيتنا اسفل ذلك الحصن ومكس الناس تمكيسا غير مستقصى
والضريبة فيه دينار وقمراط من الدينار الصربية على الرأس ولا اعتراض على القبار
فيه لانهم يقصدون موضع الملك الملعون وهو محل التعشير والضريبة فيه قمراط من
الدينار والدينار اربعة وعشرون قمراطا واكثر المعترضين في هذا المكس المغاربة ولا
اعتراض على غيرهم من جميع بلاد المسلمين وذلك لمقدمة منهم احفظت الافرنج عليهم
سببها ان طائفة من انجادم غزت مع نور الدين رحمه الله احد الحصون فكان لهم في
اخذة غنى ظهر واشتهر لحجازام الافرنج بهذه الضريبة المكسمة الزموها رسم فكل
مغربي يزن على راسه الدينار المذكور في اختلافه على بلادهم وقال الافرنج ان هؤلاء

Ibn Djubayr. Slane (1884:444-7).

بتاريخ يوم الاثنين اربعة و عشرون من نونبر جاء خادم
من فرد بلريل برند غريل فخير الفرضه التي له قبل ففد
سعد الفيلظون

وذكر محمد ابيعش ان ما له ارض بهناك ولا يعرف محط
الامين على بن خيرون ببلد شون وانتعمرها الخادم فتح
القدرنه

وانصو منائبة ثمانية فرود

٧

وانا الامين على خيرون بعثت للخادم فتح القدرنه للندق
يامر للذي له ينصو يصشوا داخل ستنت ايام الا يكون
كل منوب

عليهم وانصو للخادم قدرنه ستنتعشر فرد

traders because they proceed to the place of the cursed king, where the tax is due, at the rate of 1 kirat per dinar. A dinar is 24 kirat. The majority of those who bear it are Westerners [Maghribi]. It does not fall on any others from the remaining Muslim countries and this is because from the onset they irritated the Franks. A band of auxiliaries, from the Maghrib, raided with Nur ed-din - May God have mercy on him! - a castle until it became theirs, bringing back riches taken from it, and it became famous. Thus the Franks imposed on them, on account of that event, this head tax and so every Maghribi is restricted by the above-mentioned dinar per head, in the controversy against their country."

Feature analysis

1. Word order is flexible, VSO and SVO:

fa 'ağabanā min 'amri dālika makān
[I V I N N N]

'an t̄āyifatan min 'anğādi-him ġazat ma'a...
[I N I N V I]

fa kullu mağribiyyu yazinu 'alā ra'si-hi d-dīnāra...
[I N V I N N]

2. R R R derivations:

'ağzanā ġāzā

taMKīSi ~ MuKKiSa ~ l-MaKSi ~ MaKaSiyyat

3. Case ending morphs may be read in the ^{strange} spellings or approximations to the tanwin, the mark of indefiniteness:

'aqabatān ka'ūdān , aktarūl-mu'tariḍīn

6. V--> ∅ deletions are common, e.g.:

wa d-dīnāru 'arba'at wa- 'asrūn qīrā-ṭan
[IV→∅ N N]

7. Wa[...] fa[...] strings, fa [...] is a favoured pattern.

See 1.

8. V'an, see 1.

11. law V:

law walağatū^{chu} l'asākīru...
[I V N]

There is no overt relativization, but the following is an (N) component expansion:

fultaqā
 ḥāffatā-huwa yat' illaqu bi-s-samā' 'a' lā-hu
 [I V I N]

which, bearing in mind the reservations made on this point made in 7.1, approximates the concept.

The average number of nested clauses is 2 to 3, the novelty is that the majority are in apposition: [wa-sāḥibat-hu...allāhu] 17. Negation is expressed by lā V.

19. There are no borrowings, l-'ifrangu, a possible exception, has passed into the language.

Finally, the lack of complex expansion (subordination and relativization) leads us to think, on the basis of research into universal trends in language (1), that the style is informal, that the author is in fact "writing as he speaks", therefore very close to the spoken variety. This opinion is reinforced by the forthright description of the Frankish rulers.

Comparing this text with king 'Abd Allāh's narrative and Ibn Qūṭiyya, as we have done in table 7.2.1 - all three are descriptions of past events - the flexibility in the word order and the greater simplicity, analysed more specifically as the absence of complex expansion together with a lower number of other present features, stand out even more clearly. The incipient changes, that may be reflected in the above-mentioned divergent phenomena, are too weak to be defined. For instance, there is no way of corroborating the suggested causes of this simplicity:

Are they idiosyncratic? Or is Ibn Djubayr's language representative of Spanish Arabic from Al-Andalus? If this is the case, can this simplicity be ascribed to external social pressures? Geographical isolation, increasing religious dogmatism, are factors too important to be overlooked. Lighter

forms of literature are disappearing, what survives is highly formal and stylized. This brings about a widening of the diglossic gap, and the spoken varieties of standard Arabic lose touch with the literary language too elaborate and ponderous for everyday usage; this loss of contact entails a reduction in the linguistic continuum in the formal registers. Consequently certain features are no longer used; the spoken varieties become simplified or creolized. Another way of describing this state of affairs would be to say that "competence" in these speakers in standard Arabic is narrowing its scope. They are discarding generative transformation rules which appear as features, and their awareness of the boundaries between colloquial standard Arabic and diverging dialectal varieties is weakening. The next step is easy to forecast, local vernacular forms invade the simplified common variety and acquire in the long run, its former status. This is one possible reconstruction of the emergency of local vernaculars into written form. Alas! There are too many ifs on the way. One is faced with the alternative of non-interpretation of facts or speculation.

In many ways the Kingdom of Valencia was an exception within the Christian states of the Peninsula. Above all Arabic survived longer here than anywhere else north of Granada, and probably later than Granada. Indeed, Moors or Mudejares from other communities would send their children to be instructed in Arabic to the Valencian aljamas.⁽¹⁾ But how was this so? The C13 conquest (1238) should have established similar conditions to those of Seville (1248), Cordoba (1236)

1 Cf. Lea, Cardaillac.

and Lower Andalusia. The reason for this difference stems, in part, from the primacy of diplomacy over military action. Jaime I gained large areas along the Mediterranean coast through a series of capitulations which protected his future subjects. In part, because he chose the alternative policy to that of his Castilian neighbour. Both faced a similar problem: the defeated Moors were a potential threat to the security of the state; they might rebel - in fact they often did.(1) Yet, they provided the most readily available supply of peasants, at a time when the population was decreasing in their kingdoms. Ferdinand III opted for excluding his Moslem subjects from large cities and the sea-board (Murcia). Many left for North Africa, others went to Granada and a minority settled in the countryside. For Jaime I, the need to find settlers to cultivate the "Huerta" and provide rents was even more important in the long term than invading new territories. Christian settlers? They were too few. The Moors had to stay. He encouraged them by every possible means.(2) The end result is of interest: in Castile, we have a reduction in the population of Arabic speakers with a minority who remains behind to live in isolation from the mainstream of Islamic culture. In Aragón and Valencia, there is a rise in the Moorish population who retain some links with North Africa almost until they are finally expelled.

By consenting to surrender rather than offer desperate resistance, the Valencian mudejares were able to retain their

1 1258, 1275 Valencia, 1264 Murcia; Arié (1973:307).

2 Fuero: Carta-puebla (i.e. Uxó, Crevillente). "These granted to the Moslems gave them the powers to chose their faqīh, their mayor, their elders...and to keep their cemeteries, mosques and schools." Fernández y González (1866:265).

qādīs (magistrates, for petty offences), and their mosques. This meant they were far from having the same motivation for learning Romance dialects or relinquishing Arabic than Moslem subjects elsewhere in Spain and Portugal. A grievance that will be repeated again and again against them by the authorities, and with increasing rancour in Cl6.

The corpus from Valencia, in the period from 1462 to 1492 consists in a series of quotations from a collection of documents recently presented by Maria del Carmen Barceló Torres as part of a doctoral thesis (1). We shall transliterate the Arabic texts she edited, to study the syntactic structure and features of this particular dialect. The English translation of her Spanish text will be appended for convenience.

The excerpts are four in number:

- I No. 50, dated 1462: Administrative note re taxation and notice to be served on defaulters.
- II No. 56, dated 1475: Commercial letter.
- III No. 78, dated 1482: Bill of sale for a donkey with bilingual gloss.
- IV Dated 1483: Witness's account (2).

They will be considered as a whole.

1 Documentos Arábigovalencianos, unpublished PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1981-1982.
 2 Op.cit.:503ff.

I bi-tārīk yawm l-iṭnayn 'arba'at wa 'ašrūn min nuanbr
 ḡā'a kādim min qurd bilariyal barnad fariyul faḡabara
 al-farḡah llatī la-h qabila ḡafad sa'd l-ḡayḡūn wa-dikra
 muḡammad 'abī 'iṣ 'an mā la-h 'arḡ bi-hunā-ka wa lā
 ya'raf maḡaṭṭ al-'amīn 'alī bnu kayrūn bi-bilad
 šūn wa-intimar-hā l-kādim fataḡ l-qadrūnah wa-'anṣaf
 manā'ibat ṭamāniyat farūd.

fol.v) wa 'anā 'al-'amīn 'alī kayrūn ba'aṭtu li-l-kādim fataḡ
 l-qadrūnah li-l-kandaq ya'mar llaḡī la-h yanṣaf yamšū
 dākila sittat 'ayyām illā yakūn kulla manawb 'alā-h=m?
 wa 'anṣaf li-l-kādim qadrūnah sittat-'ašar farūd.

II 'al-ḡamdu li-llāh waḡdah ḡawābī ilā l-ḡākim l-baīla
 bi-balansiyah min 'al-'amīn bi-argalīdah wa-ba'd as-salām
 na'lamu-ka 'an waṣala la-nā kitāb-ka wa-fahim-nā kitāb-ka
 wa'an taṭlub bi-barān 'amr ilā ṣāliḡ l-kaṭīb 'an
 yaḡram māyat šuld (1) ilā yaḡyā l-yahūd bnu ya'qūb bi-
murbatr fi-kull waqt 'an narā-h li-'amar-h li-dākila
 'ašrah 'ayyām 'an habaṭa ilā 'inda-kum yanṣaf wa-yadḡhab(2)
 fī yawm ṭ-talāṭah r-rābi' 'ašar yawm li-šahar mārs 'ām tis'
 wa-sab'-īn wa-ṭamānī māyah 'al-ḡamdu li-llāh sayyidī
 'āzza-kum allāh ba'd mā katab-nā ḡawāb=kum fawq-h fī
 kitab-kum l-'aḡamī rāytu ṣāliḡ l-maḡkūr ba'd tārīkah
 bi-kamsat 'ayyām fa-'amrtu-h 'an yaḡḡir amāma-kum wa
 yastaḡḡ fī 'amar-h wa yuḡāwīb 'aw yanṣaf 'an waḡaba
 'alay-hi n-naṣāf wa s-salām 'ā'id (3) 'alay-kum wa-raḡmat
 allāh min 'al-'amīn bi-argalīdah 'alī bnu 'atīq laṭafa
 allāhu bi-h.

- 1 HJB: probably sulidi (sueldo from solidus).
- 2 HJB: hesitation between >v>, e.g. ba'd ba'ḡ, also in I ḡafad.
- 3 Erratic spelling of the hamza in literary for ḡafad.
 vocabulary, see I; elsewhere replaced by ḡ: ma'iat → māyat;
 It is highly probable that it had rā'a → rāyat.
 disappeared in word final position
 but difficult to prove.

الحمد لله وحده جوابي الى الحاكم البيله بيلتسيه
من الامين بارجليده وبعد السلام نعلمك ان وصل لنا كتابك
وفهمنا كتابك و ان نطلب ببران امر الى صالح الخطيب ان
يغرم مائة مثلد

الى يحيى اليهود بن يعقوب بمربطر فكل وقت ان نراه
لامره لداخل عشره ايام ان هبط الى عندكم يتصق و
يرهب في يوم

الثلاثه الرابع عشر يوم لشهر مارس عام تسع و سبعين
و ثمان مائه

الحمد لله سيدي اعزكم الله بعد ما كتبنا جوابكم فوقه في
كتبكم الاعجبي رايت صالح المذكور بعد تاريخه بخمسة ايام
فامرته ان يحضر امامكم ويستج
في امره ويحاوب او يذصف ان وجب عليه النصف والسلام
عائد عليكم و رحمة الله من الامين بارجليده علي بن عتيق
لطف الله به

Valencia Doc. No. 56.

بتاريخ يوم الثلاثه ماضيه ثلاثه
عشر يوم من شهر اغشت عام سبعة
و ثمانين و ثمان مائه من الحمار الذه
بعث انا الامين الى يحيى جبطه انا اخذن
الى العدد الندي و انا راضي بالذي عطتته

Valencia Doc. No. 78.

عطاني الماء الذي يعجزني من حارة [أي تمنعه
وهو عليه و دفعه عليه المسداة وسجّه

Witness's account.

III bi-tārīk yawm t-talāṭat māḍiyah talāṭat 'ašar yawm min
 'šahar 'aḡušt 'ām sab'at wa-tamāṭīn (1) wa-tamānī māyah
 min l-ḥimār llaḍī bi't. 'anā 'al-'amīn 'ilā yaḥya ḡabaṭah
 'anā 'aḡaḍt 'ilā l-'adad n-nadī (2) wa 'anā rādā bi-llaḍī
 'amalt .

IV 'aṭānī l-mā' li-anī (3) ya'ḡiz nī min haḡḡi/qum-na'ah ?
 wa-hazza 'alay-h wa-ḡaḡ 'alay-h l-maḡḡāt wa ḡaḡḡah...

_____ = Romance loan

Translation

- I On Monday 24th November, Bernat Ferriol, an attendant, from the Villa-Real court came about the tax owed him by the grandson of Sa'd l-Gayḍūn. Mohammad Abī 'iḡ mentioned that he does not own land there and that he does not know the place of the headman 'Alī bn Xayrūn in the township of Uixó. Faṭḥ al-Qadrūna served notice and eight pieces were paid as costs. I, the headman, 'Alī bn Xayrūn, sent the attendant Faṭḥ al-Qadrūna to Fondegulla, to order the defaulting to come within six days; if not, they would be liable for costs. Sixteen pieces were awarded to the attendant Qadrūna.
- II Praise be to the one God! My answer to the magistrate, the bailiff of Valencia from the headman of Argelita. Greetings! I inform you that your message has arrived and that we understand your letter. You request a letter of advice I sent to Ṣāliḡ al-Xaṭīb to pay a hundred coins to Yaḥya the Jew, son of Ya'qūb of Morvedre; the moment I see him I shall order him to come personally within ten days to pay. It came on Tuesday, 14th March year 879.
 Praise be to God! My Lord! May God exalt you! After writing the above mentioned reply to your letter in Aḡamī, I saw the said Ṣāliḡ five days after that and I ordered him to present himself to you to tender his excuses, to justify himself in the matter or to pay up if he must. God grant you peace and mercy! From the headman of Argelita, 'Alī bn 'Atīq, May God be kind to him!
- III On Tuesday last 13th August of year 887. About the ass I sold, I the headman, to Yaḥya Jabāṭa. I took the total sum in cash. I am satisfied [with what I did].
- IV Let me have the water, because I need it in my part. But he refused, depriving him of it; he assaulted him with his hoe and wounded him...

- 1 sic: tamanīn
- 2 an-naḡḡ perhaps.
- 3 HJB: probably llaḍī.

Word Order

V S O dominant, but less predictably so:

- I anā 'al-'amīn ba'attu li-l-kādim ::
 [N N V I N]
 III bi't 'anā 'al-'amīn ; but
 [V N N]
 III 'anā aḡaḡt ...
 [N V]

Moreover, clause boundaries, at times, "fuzzy" as in I:

ya'mar could be clause mate to: ba'attu or the predicate of another clause or the antecedent of llaḡī la-h yaṣaf..., neither is it too clear to which clause fi-kull waqt, in II, belongs. To a similar extent, components resist identification:

- I llaḡī la-h yaṣaf yaṣū dākila sittat 'ayyām...
 [N I N ? [N]
 II 'an narā-h li-'amār-h li dākila 'aṣrah 'ayyām...
 [I V N]

The positive identification of li is difficult, and therefore that of 'amār, ambiguous as to V or N. The V option raises the question of clause boundaries which are necessary to elucidate word order. It is more than a logical problem. There exists here the possibility of semantic confusion or, at least, vagueness as to the content of the message.

- I 'anā 'alī ba'attu...
 III bi't 'anā 'al-'amīn...

The two examples illustrate also the appearance of 'anā.

The relexicalisation of 'anā from [+emphasis] to [-emphasis] is a major step forward in the process of change on account of its implications:

- i) It points to the gradual loss of the paradigm. As a result this dialect is altering its typological classification from sharing the features of a synthetic model to acquiring those of an analytic system. There seems little reason to

doubt that the occurrence of independent subject pronouns facilitates at another level, deep structure, a change in word order from V S O to S V O. It could be seen as a natural trend.

ii) The new form 'anā V appears with the form na-V (imperfective). The reader will recall that this feature is shared with Maghribi dialects (1). We suggest that these two forms are not synonymous or isomorphic (their collocations do not coincide). On the one hand, 'anā V--tu may retain some association with emphasis, as for na --V (imp.) it may include the "royal we" meaning. Nevertheless both forms share common ground and are tending towards synonymy. At this stage the disappearance of one of the two is normal. Which form has the better chance of surviving? One would like to say the simplest, the one that requires the least effort in memorizing inflexions and restrictions. Prediction in linguistics is virtually impossible since many other factors - and new ones are emerging continuously - have to be assessed as well.

iii) And lastly, the innovations: V--tu, 'anā V underline in Valencian Arabic a drift away from Maghribi Arabic.

Articles: There is some fluctuation:

I bi-tārīk yawm l-itnayn Ø 'arba'at wa 'ašrūn min::

II fī-yawm t-talātah r-rābi' 'ašar yawm li- ::

III bi-tārīk yawm t-talātāt māḍiyah Ø talātāt 'ašar yawm min

Particles:

We have stated that particles extend their domain in vernacular, where, for instance, li may precede N (object) after a transitive verb. Such a pattern would be deviant in "classical" Arabic and its occurrence is an indication of non-formal

1 e.g. Harrell (1962:46): "ne- is prefixed when the verb stem begins with two or more consonants, ne'mel "I do", The inflection is retained in Modern Moroccan.

style (1). Compare in III the collocation of 'ilā:

'anā 'aḳadt' 'ilā l- 'adad

In our dialect, li has gone further in its possible uses:

i) li-šahar mārs :: min šahar 'aḡušt

ii) ba'atttu li-l-kādim ... ya'mar llaḏī la-h yaṣṣaf

'an narā-h li 'amar-h ... 'an habaṭa

Where li from introducing N components can now introduce larger syntactic elements. We shall pursue this further from the point of view of expansion.

We meet, in this collection of texts, the usual patterns such as: V ----> Ø I : 'an mā la-h arḏ
[I I V->Ø I N N]

wa [----] fa [-----] in text II.

Subordination

V'an in I

to which must be added a relexicalized li,

V li in I

as previously argued.

Relativization

is frequent under:

llaḏī V in I, IV, III

llatī V in I

mā V in II, III

What surprises one is that the antecedent N is sometimes absent, and this might be another innovation; see:

I - ya'mar in: "ya'mar llaḏī" cannot be at the same time V and N.

III bi-llaḏī 'amal-t

The number of embedded clauses is fairly high: 3 with longer strings. Negation is expressed as usual by: mā V or lā V (imp.)

1 Cf. al-Qirbilyānī's letter 7.3.1 (Granadan Arabic).

Romance Loans

The oldest text shows the highest proportion of them. They are either Spanish calendar months preceding Moslem years!, or proper names often recognizable by having more than three consonants and so they differ from the Semitic triliteral roots. One difficult case is ntmr precisely because it resembles the canonical form. There appears to be no semantically appropriate Arabic word, a Romance borrowing has been suggested: intimar (1), which is semantically acceptable but syntactically deviant -V is neutral as to inflexion. However, we consider it not an unreasonable conclusion. Similar deviant forms are characteristic of pidgin and likely to occur in creole. For the moment we shall say that the varieties we have mentioned and Valencian Arabic are in a contact situation and that the prestige language, used in their geographical areas, is one of the European languages.

The literary silence we were mentioning from Ibn Djubayr onwards does seem to coincide with a curtailment of previous formal registers in the language continuum if we take into account that two of the authors represented here are 'amīn and belong to the higher ranks of the local Moslem society, and text II is an official letter to a superior. Hence the corpus reflects contemporary formal usage.

Comparisons between the Arabic varieties of Valencia and Granada have been attempted. Considering the scarcity of documents and the opaqueness of the Arabic script, conclusions so far have been tentative. The first is remedied to a certain

1 Barceló Torres

extent by Barceló's (1) patient efforts, the second is less important to a morpho-syntactic study. Ribera's (2) comments will be seen to in a later section, as he refers to Cl6 texts. We shall proceed to contrast features in either or both varieties:

Features	Valencia	Granada		
	Valencian Arabic Corpus 1462-1483	Cenete 1479	Poetry	Al-Qirbiliyānī c.1489 colloquial style
1.Word order	VSO dominant with reversals	VSO dominant with reversals	VSO?	VSO dominant with reversals
.Morphemic alternations				
2.Derived forms RRR	---→∅	+	+	---→∅
3.Case ending morphs	---→∅	+	+	loss of word boundary ---→∅
4.Articles deviant cl.A. usage	+	-	-	+
5.Particles expand. domain	+	+	+	+
6.V → ∅	+	+	+	+
7.wa-fa subordination	+	-	+	+
8.V 'an	+	+	-	+
9.V li V	+	-	-	-
10.V 'alā 'an	-	-	-	-
11.law V	-	-	-	-
12.kamā V	-	-	-	-
Relativization				
13. mā V	+	+	+	+
14. llaḡī V	+	-	-	+
15. llatī V	+	-	-	-
.No.of nested clauses	3	1 to 2	almost nil	2 to 3
.Negation				
16. mā V	+	-	-	+
17. lā V	+	+	+	+
18. lam V	-	-	-	-
19. Romance borrowings	+	very few	almost nil	none
	(V component)			
TOTAL: 19	12	8	7	10

1 Barceló (1982).

2 Ribera (1928:II:332-5).

Comments

Out of 19 features the Valencian corpus shares 12 with al-Qirbiliyānī's letter, although only 6 with Cenete (1479). This indicates that it is following a parallel course of change to that of Granadan Arabic in the less formal range of the continuum. To be more specific, in both varieties:

- . Word order is becoming more flexible.
- . Case has all but disappeared.
- . Derivation from triliteral roots is decreasing sharply.
- . There is a noticeable avoidance of other subordination patterns, apart from V'an.
- . There is a similar level of complexity measured from the average number of nested clauses.

This implies that they are only marginally divergent in:

- . The use of regional forms of particles:

li (Valencia); matā (Granada)

- . That Valencian Arabic has acquired a new pattern of subordination: V li V.

- . Romance borrowing is greater in Valencian.

One may assume a high degree of intelligibility between them on the basis of these results.

However, such an analysis is open to criticism. The inherent weaknesses are obvious:

- The use of features produces a fragmented vision and therefore a falsified picture of a whole.
- This aspect is reinforced by the fact that the features have been given an equal value, whereas there is a hierarchy at work. How does one establish objectively a scale of features? Different orders of priorities can be defended from internal logic

without any possible external validation. Frequency might be a valid criterion. Again there are difficulties: Should one resort to an item per item count? Some have. In historical studies such an approach does not commend itself as new texts are emerging all the time and where a given feature is not present in a corpus it may be reflected in a subsequent discovery.

- Language is not a limited domain, it is a continuum, with imperceptible switches up and down the range from code to register and style. This excludes exactitude. Indeed, it is rarely a question of presence or absence of a feature but a grading with more or less x as well as a "spectrum" of features.

The tabled results provide only general information, pointing to certain trends: convergence, divergence, loss, innovation and borrowing, while particular care has been taken to compare like with like, from period to period, from region to region.

Before leaving the region of Valencia, mention must be made of the Vocabulista in Arabigo (1), a C13 bilingual glossary in Latin and Valencian Arabic or at least "in the tongue used and written by educated Moslems in Western Spain" (2). It was commissioned by the Church for the instruction of preachers sent to convert the local non-Christian Arabic-speaking population. It is a remarkable work on account of its age, and because the Arabic section is fully vowelled; furthermore it

1 Cod 217 Biblioteca Riccardiana Ed. Schiaparelli, C. (1871).
 2 "testo scritto in caratteri arabi e latini del secolo XIII... il linguaggio che si parlava e scriveva da Musulmani culti della Spagna orientale", Amari, M. in Schiaparelli (1871: VIII).

is a conscious attempt to describe colloquial usage. If it has not been given a more central position within our study, it is for two reasons. The more important being, as the reader will appreciate from a glance at the copy of the edited version, that it consists mainly of word lists. Since our focus is not vocabulary (except in terms of borrowing), but syntax, we may only retain what is relevant to our approach. Another reason is that due consideration must be given to the fact that it is "missionary literature" and that its contents must have been selected with this aim in view.

Morpho-syntactic comments to the Vocabulista:

We notice the form na-V (imperfective) in the 1st person, e.g.:(1)

in K B Y "to hide", nika-bī ~ nakṭbī

Comparing this root to classical usage, we find that the hamza or glottal stop final position becomes /y/ in Valencian Arabic:

K B ? ----> K B Y

and similarly, particles appear to have extended their domain in this dialect:

K B ? -hu ----> K B Y fī/ min / 'an

To take a further example: K F Y "to hide"

compare Cl.A. K F Y 'an N (component) ::
V.A. K F Y 'an / min

Another innovation is the assimilation of particle bi-l-N (component), which becomes bi-al-N (component) or bal in b-al-kafī "in the hiding" leading to bat-t, bas-s and so on, when the definite article has been previously assimilated.

تَحْيِي حَيِّتْ كَ فِي يَمَحْيَا اَحْيَا فِي تَحْيِي

اَحْيَيْتْ اَحْيَا مَحْيِي كَ فِي تَحْيِي اَحْيَيْتْ

فِي مِنْ وَعَنْ ۞ نَسْتَر سَاتَرْتْ سَتَرَهْ وَسْتَر

سَاتَر وَسَتَار مَسْتَوِرِينَ كَ بَ فِي يَسْتَمِرْ اَسْتَمِرْ

اِسْتَمَارْ مَسْتَمِرْ مِنْ بَ فِي نَسْتَمِرْ تَسْتَمِرْتْ تَسْتَمِرْ

مَسْتَمِرْ بَ فِي تَحْيِي اَحْيَيْتْ اَحْيَا مَحْيِي

كَ فِي وَعَنْ تَحْيَا حَيَّا وَحْيِي حَيَّ وَحْفِي

وَحْيَا حَفِيَّهْ اَنْ حَيَّا عَلَ وَعَنْ يَحْنَفِي اَحْنَفَا

اَحْنَفَا مَحْنَفِي مِنْ وَعَنْ يَمَحْنَفِي اَحْنَفَا مِنْ

وَعَنْ نَسْتَحْنَفِي اَسْتَحْنَفَا اَسْتَحْنَفَا مَسْتَحْنَفِي فِي

وَعَنْ وَمِنْ ۞ نَعْتَر غَمَرْتْ تَغْيِرْ مُعْتَرْ مُعْتَرْ

كَ فِي يَتَعْتَرْ اَتَعْتَرْ تَعْتَرْ فِي ۞ بُدَكْ دَكَكْتْ

دَكْ دَكَّاكَ مِنْ مَدَكُوْكَ كَ تَحْتْ وَعَنْدْ يَنْدَكْ

اَنْدَكْ تَحْتْ وَعَنْدْ ۞ نَكْنْ كَنْتْ كَنْ كَانْ

مَيَكْنُوْكَ كَ ۞ نَوَارِي وَارِي مَوَارَاهْ كَ ۞

بَالْحَيِّ وَبِالتَّحْيِيهِ وَبِالسَّتْرِ وَبِالْعَبْثِ ۞

ANSWERS.

Concerning word final morphs, (i) morph-t is now realized as Ø, reverts to a [t] realization in the plural-āt.

e.g. kafiyya ~ kafiyyāt (pl.)

(ii) the next examples show beyond doubt the loss of case ending morphs:⁽¹⁾

taʿannuq maʿa niʿānaq "you take me by the collar"

taʿānuq maʿa ʿināq "you embrace"

Note the dialectal periphrastic construction with maʿa which does not occur, normally, in Classical Arabic.

These few quotations are given as illustrations of the general trends that may be perceived in the contents of the glossary. It is not our intention to give an exhaustive account of each and every instance, for the reason we gave once before, when discussing Ibn Hishām's contribution, that the items included in these works are out of context.

Nevertheless the Vocabulista in Arabico does confirm the following phenomena observed in the Corpus:

- . na-V (imperfective) in 1st person.
- . Final hamza ----→ /y/.
- . Loss of case ending morphs.
- . Particles expanding considerably in uses and numbers.

1 Op cit. (1871:241)

7.3.3 Christendom

7.3.3.1 Saragossa

Although this section is entitled Saragossa, what shall be said should be taken to extend to the Kingdom of Aragon, just as the previous one referred to the Kingdom of Valencia. The title merely states that the documents chosen are to be found in Saragossa. The three first are part of a collection, edited by García de Linares (1), and we shall follow his listing:

Document 1 (or Doc.1) is the earliest, dated 1117 AD.

Document 12 (Doc.12) marks the beginning of the period under study (1212-1492); it is dated 1246.

Document 13 (Doc.13) is from 1484, preceding by a few years the fall of Granada.

Others will be considered later, in the period that ends with the deportation of the Moriscos, or in the appendices, where a more detailed analysis will be given. The fourth (1446) appears as an illustration to Ribera's inaugural lecture on education in Moslem Spain (2).

1212 was the year of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, a convenient landmark to indicate more or less the moment when the hegemony of Spain passed from the Berbers of North Africa to the Christians of Northern Spain. The period we are considering must therefore be seen against the new political situation. However there are documents in Saragossa and Toledo which are older than 1212. We would not want to exclude them but we have limited our choice to a few that are representative of the remainder. A fact that must be borne in mind is that the older the document, the more likely it is for the text to

1 García de Linares (1904:176ff).

2 Ribera y Tarragó (1893).

be formal in style and similar in usage to "Classical" Arabic (cf. diglossia). Any exception would obviously be included in our study as an important source of information with respect to regional varieties.

Doc.1. Bill of sale of part of a field, on the banks of the Ebro, between Abderrahman el Azdí the buyer and Mohamed el Tamimí the seller (510 AH/1117 AD): *bismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm*

'iṣṭarā 'abd r-raḥmān bnu muḥammad l-'azdī min .
 muḥammad bnu 'abd ṣ-ṣamad 'ibn sulaymān bnu 'aṭiyat
 t-tamīmī qatī' (1) faddān bi-qar-yat subratiyāl zāwiyat
 šalūn 'aml madīnat saraqustat qibliyyat faddān li-'ibn
 ranān wa-ḡawfiyyat faddān kāna li-l-muslimānī
 wa-šarqiyyat nahr 'ibruḥ wa-ḡarbiyyat faddān li-'ibn ranān
 (2) bi-manāfi -h wa-marāfiq -h wa ḥuram -h wa-
 ḥuqūq -h kull -hā d-dākilat fī-h wa-l-kāriḡ 'an-h
 'aṣṭarā' ṣaḥīḥan tāmān (3) 'arifan qadr =h wa-mablaḡ-h
 bi-dīnar . wāḥid wa-'arba'at dirahīm min l-ḡāri-yat
 'al'āna bi-saraqustat qabaḍa l-bāyi' min l-mubtā' ... (4)
 l-ḥuriyyat min ḡamī' l-maḡārim wa-l-waṭṭiyif (5) wa 'alā
 sunnat l-muslimīn ... (4) wa maraḡa' darak -hum šahida
 [V
 'alay-humā bi-dālika-h kull -h man sami'a-h min-humā wa-
 I N I N [N V I N] [I
 'arafa-humā fī ṣ-ṣiḥḥat wa-l-ḡawāz wa fī dī-l-ḥiḡat min
 V N I N I N I I N I
 sanat 'aṣr wa-kams māyat.
 N]]
 _____ =Romance loan y: vowel diacritic in Ms.

1 HJB: qita' "piece".

2 G.de L.'s reading.

3 HJB: ḡayzan.

4 G.de L.: wear and tear. fr buyūc - him?

5 HJB: wazā'if.

فسمع الله الدعاء والرحمة
 انصرفوا جميعا الى الله تعالى
 من امهاتكم وبناتكم واولادكم
 وجميعكم الى الله تعالى
 فسمع الله الدعاء والرحمة
 انصرفوا جميعا الى الله تعالى
 من امهاتكم وبناتكم واولادكم
 وجميعكم الى الله تعالى
 فسمع الله الدعاء والرحمة
 انصرفوا جميعا الى الله تعالى
 من امهاتكم وبناتكم واولادكم
 وجميعكم الى الله تعالى

Fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll, showing several lines of text written in a cursive script. The fragment is dark and heavily damaged, with significant portions of the text obscured by tears and discoloration. The visible text is in a script that appears to be Coptic or a similar ancient language.

Doc. 1

Doc. 12

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, Abderrahman...el Azdí bought of Mohamed...el Tamimí part of a field in the village of Sobradíel, by the Jalón, in the district of the city of Saragossa. [It faces] to the south Ibn Renen's field, to the other end [north] a field that was Musliman's, to the east the river Ebro and to the west a field of Ibn Renen's. [The purchase] with profits, facilities, sole ownership, all rights, entrances and exits is valid and complete; [they are] aware of the amount of the price of 1 dinar and 4 dirhams in Saragossa currency. The buyer took possession from the seller ... all mortgages and duties according to Islamic law ... going back and being aware [of the matter] Those who witnessed for both heard it from them and know them [to be] sound in mind and body. [This was] in Dulhiğga 510.

Doc. 12. Bill of sale of an estate, consisting of houses, orchards and vineyards in the district de Oitura (644 AH 1246 AD).

bismi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi wa ṣallā 'allāhu 'alā muḥammadin wa 'ālihi wa sallama.

*'iṣṭarā 'aḥmad l-marrān min muḥammad bnu ṣalmat l-bartiyālī
 ḡamī' mā la-h min 'amlāk wa-diyārīn bi-baṭḥat qar-yat
 'uytūruh min diyār-hā wa-ḡināt -hā wa-karmāt -hā wa-
 fadādīn-hā wa-fī kull ḥaqq ḥuwa la-h fī-hā min l-qar-yat
 l-maḍkūrat wa-baṭāḥ-hā min l-ḡihāt l-'arba'at min
 mu'ammārū-hā wa-būr-hā lam yastabq fī dālika kull-hā
 l-bāyi' l-maḍkūr fī-hā li-nafs -h wa lā li-'aḥadīn bi-
 sababḥ ḥaqqān wa-lā mulkan wa-lā murtafaḡan qalīlan wa-lā
 kaṭīran illā wa-karaḡa 'an dālika kull-hā li-l-mubtā'
 l-maḍkūr bi-l-bāyi' l-batl t-tāmm ṣ-ṣaḡīḥ l-ḡāyiz bayna
 l-muslimīn llaḡī lam yattaṣil bi-h ṣarṭ mufsid wa-lā
 tuniyā wa-lā kiyār li-wāḥidīn min-humā 'alā ṣāḡib-h
 ba'd ma'rifat qadra mā tabāya' -h mablaḡ-h wa-muntahā
 kaṭra-h lam yaḡḡal ṣay-an min-h bi-taman mablaḡ-h
 wa-'iddat-hu [HMB:sic] tis'ūna dīnāran qanāṣīran min
 l-qanāṣir l-ḡārī-yat bi-saraḡustat ḡīna hādā t-tārīk*

qabaḍ l-bāyi^c l-maḍkūr ḡamī^c dālika kull-h min l-muḥtā^c
 l-maḍkūr wa-ṣārat dālika kull-h bayd -hu wa-fī
 qabaḍ-h tayyibat muqabalah ma^cdūdah wāfiyat ḡiyyād
 wa 'abrā-h min-hā fa-bariyā (1) brā 'at tāmamah wa-taḡalla
 la-h bi-dālika kull-h 'an ḡamī^c l-mabī^c l-maḍkūr fawq
 hāḍā wa 'inzala-h fī-hā manzilat-h wa-ḡalla -h fī-hā
 maḡalla-h wa-manzilat dī-l-muluk fī mulk -h wa- dī l-ḡaqq
 fī ḡaqqah wa-dālik^c kull-h 'alā sunnah l-musulmīn fī
 tayyibāt buyū^cāt-h=m wa-maraḡa^c 'adrak-h=m wa-irtaḍā wa
 dālika l-bayī^c at l-maḍkūrat š-šiniyūr min l-qar-yat
 l-maḍkūrat l-qasīs l'aḡill (2) dūn bartulumāu da šant ḡīl
 'an 'idn l-'aḡissah min l-kanisiyat l-maḍkūrat šahada
 'alā 'ishād l-mutbāyi^c ān l-maḍkūrān min 'aḡḡā-h bi-h
 wa-sami^ca min-humā wa 'arafa-hum wa l-ḡamī^c bi-ḡāl ṣ-ṣiḡḡat
 wa l-ḡawāz fī šahar rabī^c 'awwal min sanat 'arba^cat
 wa 'arba^cīna wa sittamāyatan. (1).

(3)... wa-yūsuf l-'anṣārī kataba 'an-h bi-'amr-h wa-šāhada
 fī-h l-fāras (4) 'alā l-qasīs l-maḍkūr dūn šanḡ da darūḡuḡ
 kataba 'an-h bi-'a mr-h ...

y: vowel in Ms.

Translation:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 May God bless Mohammad and his people and grant them
 salvation! Ahmed el Marran bought from Mohamed Ibn Selma
 el Partiyali the whole of what is his property - the
 houses in the plain of the village of Oitura - the houses,
 the orchards, the vineyards and fields, all the property

- 1 G.de L. sic.
- 2 HJB aḡillā'.
- 3 Two of the witnesses and their statements.
- 4 HJB: The original could read as galbidu or "cabildo".
 There is no reason why fāras "the knight", a title,
 should be separate from its possessor.

that is his, in the above-mentioned village and its plain, in the four directions - what is cultivated and fallow. The seller does not hold back for himself any of what is up for sale, neither the property nor its revenues in any degree, great or small but relinquishes it all - that is of the said seller - to the buyer, definitely, completely in a valid and lawful [deal] between Moslems who do not enter into a contract with clause invalidating it, without further bid nor handing back the property after the sale, nor the withdrawal of one of the two from his partner, after having got to know the value, the deal clinched and the price settled. They are not ignorant of anything to do with the price fixed in the amount of 90 dinars in Saragossa currency at the date of taking possession by the buyer of all the property that had been of the seller. The taking possession took place in good will, having received the sum, given correctly. [Thereby] he is free of debt, exempt and completely cleared. All that was purchased as mentioned above is now his; he has had the place occupied as owner of the property and rights and all the rest by Islamic Law, in good faith, with the onus on the former owner to return the monies if there be a flaw in the deal. The Lord of the said village, the honourable priest, Don Bartolomé de San Gil, with the permission of the canons of the referred church, agrees to the sale. The [following] bore witness on behalf of the two above-mentioned parties. They heard it from them and know them, all of them to be sound in mind and body in the month of Rabī' 1st 644. ... and Yusuf el-Ansari signed on his order and Don Sancho de Daroca bore witness for the Chapter, on behalf of the said priest and signed on his order.

Doc. 13. Receipt for the deposit of 50 (qafīz) measures of wheat and 1000 pieces (sueldos jaqueses) with Faradj el Toledano of Calatorao by the Prior and Chapter of Santa María the Greater of Saragossa, dated August 889 AH 1484 AD. The document is followed by a gloss in Aljamiado. Apart from its linguistic value, it is of historical interest for it refers to members of the aljama of Calatorao: Faraḡ or Faradj, the former 'amīn or headman is appealing against the seizure of his property; the scribe is faqīh to the mosque. The intervention of both argues for the existence of a well-established Moslem community, twenty-five miles southwest of Saragossa. That a faqīh or expert in Islamic Law should publicly state his

profession speaks for the tolerance still prevailing in the kingdom of Aragon and the continued respect of past charters. It corroborates the vitality of Islamic studies mentioned in the last document.

‘al-ḥamdu llāh waḥda-hu ‘ašhada ‘alā nafs -h l-karīm
faraġ ṭulayṭulī s-sākan bi-mawḍi‘ qal.‘ at t-turāb šuhadā’
hāḍā l-kitāb qawlan bi-l-ḥaqq wa-nqiyādan ‘ilay-h ‘an
‘alay-h wa-fī ḍimmat-h wa-māl =h min l-mukarramān (1)
bir’ūl wa-kabitul=h min šanta mariyāh la mayūr de la
sibdad de saraġūsa wadī‘at maḥḍat wa-‘amān mu‘min wa-dālika
kamsīn qafizan qamḥ tayyiban naqiyyan min makāyil
madīnat saraġuṣt diġu buwenuh linbiyu dar itumar mešūr
de saraġūsa wa-kammīyyat ‘aydan ‘alf šulide min
l-ġakāġiyyat t-ṭayyibat l-ġāriyat al’ān bi araġūn ‘aqarra
faraġ l-maḍkūr ‘anna-h bi-qabḍ=h ‘inda-h min ^{‘inda} sāhibān
l-maḍkūrān qabḍan wāfiyan wa ‘anna ‘alay-h ‘alā nafs -h
wa ‘amwāl-h sāhibān l-wadī‘at dālika ‘alay-h ‘alā l-ḥulūl
yākuḍu-h mitā šā‘at wa-‘arāda sāhibān (2) l-wadī‘at biri’ur
wa-kabitul ‘aw t-ṭālib ‘an-h ‘aw bi-sabab -h bi-hāḍā l-‘aqḍ
mitā šā‘at wa-‘arāda faraġ l-maḍkūr dūn maṭl wa-lā ta’kīr
taḥṭa ‘iltāzām nafs =h wa-ḍimmat-h wa-māl=h ‘ayna yūġaḍu
wa-kānat wa ‘iltazama/l-wafā‘u ġamī‘ dālika wa ‘iltazama
faraġ l-maḍkūr bi-inṣāf wa-‘a‘ṭā’ ġamī‘ l-manāyib
wa-nafaqāt wa-l-ḳasārāt li sāhibān l-wadī‘at l-maḍkūrat
‘in tasabbaba-h ‘aw t-ṭālib ‘an-h ‘aw bi-sabab=h ‘alā
ṭalb l-wadī‘at l-maḍkūrat wa ‘arāda faraġ l-maḍkūr
šekusiyy-un fī ‘amwāl-h fī kull mawḍi‘ yūġaḍu la-h māl
wa ‘in yubā‘ dālika ‘alā ḥasab-h sīrat l-maġlis wa ‘ādat
l-fariḍat li-manfa‘at sāhibān l-wadī‘at- l-maḍkūrat wa
li-maḍarrat-h ḥattā ‘an yakūn sāhibān l-wadī‘at l-maḍkūrat
=====Aljamía

الذي له وحده اشتهر بانجسده التبع مرجح كليلك الساكن
 بعد دفع غلظة التمل - شمداء هذا الخطا - فهو بالحق
 وانفردا اليه ان عليه ويؤتمه وماله من المخر - بقول
 وحيد بين مشقة قدرته لتقوية الاستبداد اسرورة
 ربيعة محقة واماز موسى وهذا - خمسين ربيع اضع
 كميته من مخابيل مدينة سرفسك دفع بؤنة لتيز من
 اشترى ما شرر اسر غرته وكحمة ايضا
 الب شلرا من الجحاشية الطيبة الجارية بالمان لوزن
 افر من المذخور انه قبضه عنده من عند صاحبان
 المذكوران قبضا واجبا وان عليه وعلى جسده
 وامواله صاحبان الوديعة الك عليه على المفلون
 انذره بتقضاءه واراد صاحبان الوديعة بقر
 وكجندة او الطالب عنه او بسببه به هذا العقد
 متل شاة - واراد مرجح المذكور دون كل
 ولا تاخير تحت التزام جسده ودمته وماله ابن
 يوجه كانت والتزم الوفاء جميع ذلك
 والتزم مرجح المذكور بالتطاب والكل في جميع
 المناجج والنفقات والخسائر - لصحاب الوديعة
 المذكورة ان تسببه او الطالب عنه او بسببه
 على كلب الوديعة المذكورة واراد مرجح المذكور
 شاكسية في امواله في كل موضع يوجد له مال
 ولا يباع ذلك على حسب سيرة المجلس وعادة
 العرصة له من جهة صاحبان الوديعة المذكورة

manṣūfan wa-muṣayyiran min wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa-min
 qamḥ wa-l-kammīyat a'allā-h wa-min manā'ib-h wa-nafaqāt-h
 l-muta'arraḍat la-h 'alā ṭalb wadī'at-h l-maḍkūrat
 wa-'arāda faraġ ṭulayṭulī l-maḍkūr 'in yakūn ṣāhibān l-wadī'at
 l-maḍkūrat muṣaddaḡan bi-kalimat dūn yamīn wa-lā ṣahūd
 tulazzima-h li'itmām dālika ġamī' dālika z-zamm nafs=h
 wa-dimmat=h wa-ġamī' amwāl-h s-sākinat wa l-mutaḥarrikat
 l-maksūbat wa-l-ġayr (1) l-maksūbat wa-'arāda wa raḍā
 faraġ l-maḍkūr maḥbūsan wa-masġūnan bi-sabab l-wadī'at
 l-maḍkūrat fī kull makān yaġid wa-'arāda wa raḍā faraġ
 l-maḍkūr 'an yakūn ṣāhibān l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat 'aw
 ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h aw bi-sabab-h qādiran bi-hāḍā l-'aḡd 'alā
 ṭalb l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa n-nafaqāt wa-manā'ib (2)
 'amāma 'ayyi ḥākim ṣā'a wa-'asqaṭa 'an-h ḥākim-h r-rātib
 wa-kāṣṣat l-ġa' l nafs=h li-ḥukūmat wa-kunbulṣu
 delġuṣṭisiyah dearaġūn-h 'aw li-nā'ib-h (2) 'aw
 el-ġubernaḍūr 'aw li-nā'ib wa-'arāda faraġ l-maḍkūr 'an
 lā yantafi' la-h fī tamṭīl qaḍā' l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat
 zahīr wa-lā 'aḡd wa-lā 'abrā=h wa-lā ġayr =h wa-lā
 el-fuweru llaḍī yu'ayyina la-hum min l-'aṣrat l-ayyām
 li-ṭalb 'aḡd wa-barā'at 'aw ġayr dālika bala 'asqaṭ (3)
 ġamī' dālika wa-'abṭala-h kull ṣay'in wa-'in lā yabra'=h
 min l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa-l-munā'ib l-muta'arraḍat
 la-h bi-sabab ṭalb l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat illā qarār
 ṣāhibān l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat bi-qabḍ-h=mā 'aw brā'at min
 kātib maṣhūr kamā yaġibu wa-'iltazama faraġ l-maḍkūr
 li-l-qamḥ l-maḍkūr wa li-l-kammīyat l-maḍkūrat a'allā-h
 v: vowel in Ms. ———: Romance loan

- 1 G.de L.: The word appears twice, once between lines.
- 2 HJB: Hamza below spelt: نايب
- 3 Hamza spelt: ى also in aġilar at the end of the deed.

ولمضت حتى ان يطون طاجان الوديعه المنطوقة
منصوبها ومصليا من رديعة المنطوقة ومن الصبح والحبس
اعلاء ومن شايهه ونفحاته المنصرصة له الملك
فهي بعته المنطوقة واراد مخرج كلتيك المنطوقين
صاحبان الوديعه المنطوقة مصداقا بطلقة دون
يحيى ولا شعود تلزمه لا تطلع الطاجان جميع
الطاجان نفسه ونفسته وجميع امراءه الساكنة
والمنجدة الطسوبة والعيس الطسوبة واراد ورفي
مخرج المنطوق بمجوسا ومجونا بسبب
الوديعه المنطوق يعطل طاجان يوجد واراد
ودفن مخرج المنطوقين طاجان الوديعه
المنطوقة والطالب عنه اوبسبه فلا رخصنا
العصر على كلب الوديعه المنطوقة والنفحات
والنايب اماع ايد حاكم شاد واسفله عصفه
النايب وخاصة الجعل بعسه لحطومة
وتقبطه النجفسيه ذاك تخذ اولنايب
او العنار تخذ اولنايبه واراد مخرج مخرج المنطوق
ان لا يتجمع له في تكميل فضاء القوة المنطوقة
كصبر ولا عصفه الابراء ولا يتركه ولا القوا السخري
يعتبر لهم من العصفه الا ان ياب
لكل عصفه ويراث او غير الطاجان
بلا مسفله جميع الطاجان كله فكل شئ

وان لا يترك من الوديعه المنطوقة والنايب
المنصرصة له بسببه كلب الوديعه
المنطوقة الاقرار صاحبان الوديعه
المنطوقة بفضله او يراى من فانيات
مشهور كما يجب

والتمه مخرج المنطوق المفع المنطوق واللمسية
المنطوقة اعلاء واحد الرجومه
الفرير لبلده فله التل

مخدم مع دار مقل بتعير ولاد اباك في بطر
كانت يدسب صا حله وواحد طر لعدائ
المسلكن بمخدم مع غفارت تسلم البق ومع
جدان شكان جوتن شكان ومع كبريوسه
طامل جعان لعدان المسلكن كبريوسه لرتبه
لثا غار مخدم مع جدان اخلاقيه ذاك لار
ومع جعان شكان جوتن شكان واخرى جدان
الكران متفقد مخدم مع جدان كبريوسه
ومع كبريوسه مخدم مع جدان كبريوسه

والتمه مخرج المنطوق لصاحبان الوديعه
المنطوقة الوديا المنجدين دون عصفه
ولا خصام وحلب بالله الذي لا اله الا هو
الوديا كجميع ما ذوق
كما نفع مخرج مخرج ذاك ارايت كبريوسه
مشهور كما يجب

wāḥid dār li-ḥawmat el-muriyu (1) li-baladat qal'at
 t-turāb yaḥiddu ma'a dār salāma sa'īd wa li-dār u (2)
 bākār du (2) bākār kānat li-yūsuf sāḥib ṣallā (2)
 wa-wāḥid karm li-faddān s-sultān yaḥiddu ma'a ḡuertu
salāma elbar (3) wa-ma'a faddān muṣen ḡuwan šimānu (4)
 wa-ma'a ṭarīq saraqust wa 'ukrā faddān li-faddān s-sultān
 l-ḥawmat larraša laš nuḡeraš yaḥiddu ma'a faddān lakabelanī
dešeriyūn wa-ma'a faddān muṣen ḡuwan šimeun wa- ukrā
 faddān elakarrera saraḡūsa-h yaḥiddu ma'a faddān laṭubira
 wa-ma'a ṭarīq saraqust.
 wa-iltazama faraḡ l-maḍkūr li-ṣāḥibān l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat
 l-wafa'la-h min ḥaqq dūn ḥukūmat wa-lā kišām wa-ḥalafa
 bi-llāhi alladī lā 'ilāh illā huwa l-wafā' li-ḡamī' mā
dūkira ed de nufirmar nifer firmar de dereituh kuntra
lakartah šubre diča.
 dūn kišām wa-lā tamṭīl wa-dālika kull -h yawm l -iṭanayn
 t-tāsi' l-aḡušt 'ām uču (5) siyentuš uḡentah in -uwebe
 li-ḥisāb l-muslimīn šahada bi-dālika l-karīm baḷašku
maḡuneš wa-ferrandu de 'aḡilar wa-faraḡ ṭulayṭulī rn-d
 wamuṣa b-t-l? (6) wa--'ibrahīm arkuš wa
 kataba l-hādā l- 'aqd 'anā muḥammad bnu muḥammad l-'arq-r? (7)
 faqīh wa- kādīm masḡid qal'at t-turāb fī l-fūr wa-kātib
 mašhūr min bilādī l-maḍkūr wa-bi-h ṣaḥḥ 'indī ilā akir
 l-faṣl ṭabata ladiyya 'alā ṣaḥḥ mā waq' a^c \ wa^{wa} ^{saḥḥ} bi-wāḡib-h.

1 HJB: if Romance then "Murillo".

2 G.de L.: sic.

3 HJB: probably "Álvar"; common proper name.

4 HJB: probably "Simeón", proper name.

5 ṡ=ḡḡ-→č

6 G.de L.: unidentifiable. HJB: The first name could be read: "aranda".

7 HJB: unidentifiable - "Arquero"?

ešta karta pertiyende de kefuwerun tumaduš eštuš biyeneš
deldiğ-u farağ tuledu burel unrrādu mušen tulušanuh per
kuradūr de lasennūriya bur kuwentuš rreşağaduš ke le
al-kansarūn al-diğu farağ del-tiyenbuh kera elamīn de-luš
diğuš šennureš li-bilād qal‘at t-turāb i-fuwe kuntentu
i-balaziyende el-diğu farağ ubliğarše en-eštah kartah de-
(en)kumiyenda fuwerte i-firme i-baledera šegūn še-debe
bur rrazūn ke le fuwerun tumaduš tuduš luš dičuš
biyeneš i-maš sebađa tiriğu i un par demulaš i-uštiğaş
ke denturu de-šu-kaša še-fallarūn. i ešte aktu-h
mandarun i fuwerun kuntentaš laš parteš diğu el-diču
farağ lufiziye-še Muḥammad el-arq-r (1) raḥima allāhu
l-faḡīh kera la ‘ura anšikumu nutariyu del-diču luğar
fuwerte i firme i balederu adannu šuyu ed de-luš šuyuş
ed aburubeğu de la-diča šennūriyah šegūn še-debe kumu
berešuna ke kunusiya de-ber lušubre-diču tiriğu i-kantidat
eladič-a sennūriya i-šakelu=h yu muḥammad el arq-r
lfaḡīhu de laš nutaš demī padre muḥammad l-arq-r raḥima
allāh ḥarfan ḥarfan bilā (2) ziyādatan wa-lā nuqṣān
kamā ‘amra ‘ašar wa-‘ādat (3) l-farḡat wa-‘ālā ‘ādat
l-našarā wa-bi-h šaḥḥ šahađa (2) l-maḡkūrayn ‘a‘allā-h
wa-hāḡā kamā kātib fī l-bilād l-maḡkūr fī l-fūr.

- 1 HJB: el Arquero? "The bow-maker, archer".
- 2 G.de L.: sic.
- 3 HJB: sic: ‘iddat.

Translation

Praise be to the One God! The noble Faradj el Toledano domiciled in Calatorao calls on his behalf (1) the witnesses [of] this document, to certify its truth and faithfulness that he, under his responsibility and (against the security) of his wealth, received from the venerable Prior and Chapter of Santa María the greater of the city of Saragossa, as a genuine deposit with trustworthy surety, 50 measures of clean wheat, in weights of Saragossa. I SAY: GOOD; CLEAN; RECEIVED IN MEASURES OF SARAGOSSA and also the sum of 1000 good pieces [jaqueses] current in Aragon. The above-mentioned Faradj acknowledged that he has in his keeping, from the owners the complete delivered deposit. That, under his responsibility and against the surety of his wealth the owners of the deposit may, on cancellation, retrieve it at their wish, and that the owners of it, the Prior and Chapter or a claimant on their behalf or for any reason may do this, with this deed, at their wish. And the same Faradj will act without delay and without default under his personal obligation, his responsibility and surety, wherever he be.

He is under obligation to pay back the whole of it and the same Faradj is bound in fairness to cover the incurred expenses, costs and losses to the owners of the above-mentioned deposit resulting from it or to their agent or for whatever reason with regard to the claiming of the same deposit. And the same Faradj will part with his property wherever it may be and sell it in the amount decided by the Court in compensation and for the benefit of the owners of the deposit mentioned until it has been met in full - the deposit: that is the wheat and the money above mentioned - and the expenses, costs incurred as to the claiming back the deposit.

The same Faradj el Toledano enters into this agreement and the bond with the owners of the said deposit is his word without taking oath nor having witnesses to compel him to fulfil all that he has undertaken with his person, under his responsibility and against his wealth in stock or distributed, tied up or invested. The same Faradj agrees to be detailed and retained on account of the said deposit wherever he be. The same Faradj agrees and consents to the owners of the deposit in question, their agent, for whatever reason as having the power through this document to claim it with costs and expenses before any magistrate - ANY - and to drop his usual magistrate and exclusively present himself[and submit] to the authority and DEALING OF THE JUSTICIA OF ARAGON or to his representative, to the GOVERNOR or his representative. Faradj agrees not to turn to his advantage

1 Literally "against himself".

any delay in settling the clause of the said deposit. There will be no end, no remission nor otherwise and THE FUERO in which he has 10 days to meet the claim of the document and free himself or otherwise would not apply but he would forfeit all that, and all that would be seized and on the condition that he had not freed him from his obligation with the same deposit and from costs incurred in reclaiming it. The owners of the deposit would act by seizing, both of them, or clearing of the debt by means of a notary public as it should be.

The security of the same Faradj for the wheat and the sum above detailed is one house in the neighbourhood of the wall in the district of Calatorao and one adjoining the house of Salama Sa'id and a house of U Bakr - of U Bakr's - that was the property of Yūsuf Sāhib Sallā (the leader of the Prayer) and a vineyard next to the field of Sultān [the King?] adjoining an orchard of Salama Alvar and a field of Mosén Juan Simeón and the Saragossa road and another field next to Sultān's property [Crown?] in the district of the walnut trees meadow adjoining a field belonging to the chaplain of Serón and a field of Mosén Juan Simeón and a further field by the SARAGOSSA ROAD between "La tohira" field and the road to Saragossa.

The said Faradj is under obligation to the owners of the above mentioned deposit [and] to settle with them by right under the Law [of Aragon] and there will be no further dispute as he swears by God and there is none but Him to pay back all of it - as stated: AND NOT TO SIGN NOR TO GIVE POWER TO ENDORSE THE DEED - without dispute and no further delay on the Monday 9th August of year EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY NINE of Moslem reckoning. The witnesses to this are: the noble Velasco Machunes, Fernando de Aguilar; Faradj el Toledano;--- Ibrahim Arcos.

I, Mahomed Ibn Mahomed ... faqīh [jurist] and attendant to the Mosque of Calatorao by charter and Notary Public of said district. It is valid for me until the end of the statement. It stands by its own validity as to what happened and to its injunction.

THIS DOCUMENT REFERS TO THE SEIZURE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE SAID Faradj Toledo BY THE HONOURABLE Mosén Tolosano, bailiff to His Lordship FOR MONIES DUE BY THE SAID Faradj, FROM WHEN HE WAS headman FOR THE ABOVE MENTIONED LORDS in the district of Calatorao. AND THE SAID Faradj WAS PLEASED AND WILLING TO COMMIT HIMSELF BY THIS FORCEFUL, VALID AND FIRM STATEMENT - AS IT SHOULD BE - BECAUSE ALL THE ABOVE MENTIONED PROPERTY HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM HIM AS WELL AS BARLEY WHEAT, A PAIR OF MULES AND --- THAT WERE FOUND IN HIS HOUSE.

THIS DOCUMENT WAS REQUESTED AND THE PARTIES WERE SATISFIED, I MEAN THE SAID Faradj that IT SHOULD BE DONE BY Mohamed el-rqr May God have mercy upon him! the faqīh as HE WAS THEN AS WELL AS THE NOTARY PUBLIC OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED PLACE, A FORCEFUL, VALID AND FIRM [statement] AT THE EXPENSE OF [Faradj] AND HIS FAMILY AND TO THE ADVANTAGE OF HIS/THEIR LORDSHIPS - AS IT SHOULD BE AS HE [the faqīh] HAD SEEN FOR HIMSELF THE ABOVE MENTIONED WHEAT AND THE SUM WITH HIS/THEIR LORDSHIPS.

And I, Mohamed el-rq-r DREW IT UP FROM THE NOTES OF MY FATHER, Mohamed el r-q-r May God have mercy upon him! word for word except that in addition there are no faults as ordered by Law in the quantity required and by Christian usage. Both parties bore witness to its validity and this is as scribe/notary in the said district according to the Charter.

The last item, quoted by Ribera (1), is more or less of the same period as Doc. 13. It is a scholastic exercise by a student of the Islamic college of Saragossa.

kalimat l-masāyil wa-l-ḥamdu llāh 'alā ḡālika wa
 ṣ-ṣalāt t-tāmmat 'alā sayyidinā wa nabī-nā wa-mawlā-nā
 muḥammadin l-karīm wa-kāna l-faraḡ min-hā fī madrasat
 rabaḍ l-muslimīn bi-madīnat saraqust fī yawm l-iṭanayn
 wa-fī l-'aṣr l-awwāyil min rabī' l- ukra māḍiyat 19 (2)
 yawman min ṣahar yūniyūḥ 'ām 851 'alā yaday kātib-hā
 l-'abd l-faqīr li-rabb-h r-rāḡā 'afw=h waḡāfrān-h
 t-tilmīḍ abī 'abd allāh muḥammad bnu ibrahīm bnu 'abd
 allāh ṣabaṭūn aṭ-ṭīrūlī ḡafara allāh la-hu wa li-wālidiya-h
 wa-li-ḡamī' l-muslimīn 'amīn yā rabb l-'ālamīn lā rabb
 ḡayr lā ma' būd sawā-h.

Translation

A few words on the matter. Praise be to God for this and his perfect blessings on our master, prophet and teacher, the noble Muhammad! He completed it [his studies] in the Islamic school of the Muslim quarter of the city of

- 1 Ms No.38 P. Gil Collection fol.51.
- 2 Or wa l-.

Saragossa on the second day of the first ten days of last Rabi' II or 19th of the month of June of year 851. In the hand of the writer, the humble servant of his master hoping for pardon and forgiveness, the student Abi 'Abdallāh Mohamed Ibn Ibrahim Ibn 'Abdallāh Šabatón from Teruel - May God forgive him and his parents and all Moslems! Amen! Oh Lord of the Universe there is none Other, there is no worship but His!

Let us proceed with the linguistic analysis of these texts, leading to a diachronic comparison of features under table form.

Doc. 1, dated 1117.

V ----> Ø:

The feature V ----> Ø given as premiss, finds here its justification in the text. Compare:

faddān li-'ibn ranān
N [I N]

faddān kāna li-muslimānī
N [V I N]

in which underlying V generates a verb in the surface structure, when [+past] feature has been previously selected in the deep structure for appearance in conjunction with kāna + la/li-h. Furthermore, this explanation is more economical than the alternative of denying the existence of underlying V in a clause, on the grounds that it is absent in the surface structure. The selection of the latter argument would imply arguing satisfactorily for the insertion of Kāna and sister forms, before the final derivation of the string. "Grafting" a V component onto a tree node is predictably more complex and less economical than including an extra V deletion rule for [-Past] V li/la-h. If the argument of non-appearance is taken into account, credibility, for such a grafting, will be

stretched even further. The more complex the process in deep structure the less amenable it is to objective validation. Our study is concerned with dialects rather than language; the specific, therefore, takes priority over the theory, but if as a result some aspect of theory is thereby enhanced, so much the better.

On account of its brevity, Doc. 1 illustrates few of the features we have considered so far. Here are the ones that do occur, the numbers refer to the features in table form.

1. wa ʿarafa-humā fī ṣ-ṣiḥḥat ... VSO word order
[I V N I N]
2. ṣaḥīhan ṣiḥḥat
3. hu ~ humā ~ hā ~ hum, ṣaḥīhan
6. See above.
13. Although the chosen features are not present in the deed, relativization occurs in: man_N samī^c-a-h min-humā_N. With the obligatory S V O inversion in the "relative" clause.
19. The occasional place name: subratyāl; 'ibruh or 'ibro.

Doc. 12, dated 1246.

These are the features to be found in the text:

1. lam yaḡhal ṣayan min-h
[I V N I N]
2. tabāya^c ~ mukā^c bāyi^c mabī^c ; bariyā ~ 'abrā ~ brā'at

There are many instances, it is a dominant characteristic of the text.

3. maḡkūrat maḡkūrāni maḡkūr; min 'amlāk wa diyār_{in}.
4. bayna l-muslimīn llaḡī. The use of the article seems tautological.
5. Particles expand their domain. Compare

ḡamī^c min diyār "the whole from / of the houses"
sinjūr min l-qar-yat "the Lord from / of the village"
min: from --> of (possession).

6. haqq huwa la-h f-hā, see 13.
N [N V → Ø I N i N]

7. wa abrā-h min-hā fa-bariyā brā'at tām̄mah
 13. ʕamī^C mā la-h min amlāk
 14. muslimīn llaḏī lam yataṣ-il bi-h šarṭ mufsid
 18. lam yastabq fī ḏālika There are numerous examples.
 19. Few. Place names saraqustat; proper names, e.g.
 sinīyūr dūn Bartulumāū ḏ šant ḡil.

Doc. 13, dated 1484.

This text is conspicuously different from the excerpts considered so far in this period because of its massive borrowing from Romance; (i) in the form of lexical items, proper names and such; and (ii) up to whole strings, a new development which disrupts to some extent the structure of the receiving language. We shall assess this effect in this section and analyse its Romance features later, in part IV.

Now, to the features present in this text:

1. 'aṣḥada 'alā nafs -h l-karīm faṣaḡ ṭulayṭulī, Still
 [V (I) (N)...] but the rigid V S O word order is breaking up,
 e.g. wa 'anna 'alay-h 'alā nafs -h wa 'amwāl-h ṣaḥībān l-wadī'at
 [I I I N I N I N Ṣ(S) N
 ḏālika 'alay-h 'alā l-ḥulūl yākuḏu-h
 I N V (O anaphoric pr)]
2. 'abrāt v barā'at yabra'. There is less variety than in Doc. 12, although Doc. 13 is longer with a great deal more repetition of similar forms.
3. Case ending morphs almost extinct, e.g. min ṣaḥībān maḏkūrān, but wa- iltazama l-wafa'ā.
4. Articles deviant with respect to classical usage:
 - (a) l-aḡušt ≠ min ṣaḥar
 - (b) wāḥid appears to be relexicalized into an indefinite article: faddān but wāḥid dār, ḡuertu but wāḥid karm
5. Particles expand their domain: "Ma'a" is equivalent to min in yaḥiddu ma'a.

6. alladī lā ilāh illā huwa
[N V→∅ I N I V→∅ N]
8. 'in yubā' dālika 'alā ḥasab-h
[I V N I N]
12. kamā yaḡibu
[I V]
13. ḡamī' mā ḡukira
N [N V]
14. elfuweru llaḡī yu'ayyina la-hum min l-āšrat l-ayyām
N [V I N I N]
17. 'an lā yantafi' lahu fī tamṭīl
[I neg V I N I N]

19.i) Romance lexical items: elfuweru l-fūr; saraḡusah saraḡušt. The first cognate of the two pairs is gradually substituting for the older form. šulide has replaced dīnār; kabitul 'aḡissat; ḡuertu ḡannat. Stems have given way to Romance loans; in exactly the same context compare Doc. 12 to Doc. 13.

(a) min l-mukarrmān bir'ūl wa kabitul=h min šanta mariyah
de la sibdad de saraḡūsah

ii) Mixed forms

- (b) 'amāma ayyi ḡākim šā'a
- (c) faddān elakarrera saraḡūsah ma'a ṭarīḡ saraḡušt
- (d) ḡukūmat wa kunbulušu del-ḡuštisiyahdearaḡūn
- (e) aḡušt 'ām uçu siyentuš uḡenta inuwebe li-ḡisāb l-muslimīn

iii) Complete statements

1) diḡu buwenuh linbiyu dar itumar mešūr de saraḡūsah
ed de nufirmar nifer firmar de dereītuh kuntra lakartah
šubre diča

2) ešta karta pertiyende...

These examples of extended borrowing raise different queries and while attempting to answer them, it is no less important

to take into account the writer's attitude to the variety he is using to express himself.

1) is a string of clauses which do not disrupt the Arabic context. It is not Arabic. They seem to be complete statements, the verbatim account of one of the parties. It is a deviant Romance utterance, that is not recognizably one of its surviving dialects. We suggest it is Aljamía (1), taking the term in a wider sense here as some form of Romance couched in Arabic script.

2) shall be considered as Aljamía in the narrow sense. One may well ask why it was used. The main parties are Faradj el Toledano and the Prior and Chapter of Santa María la Mayor. Tentatively we suggest that Faradj understood Romance 1), but could not read it, whereas he was proficient in Arabic script. The Prior and Chapter, while literate in Romance, did not understand Arabic to any great extent, nor its writing. The only safeguard Faradj would have to retrieve his property with was a receipt written in a script he could read and the other party understand: Aljamía. Hence the insertion of non-essential facts in the form of Arabic loans, e.g. 'amīn, li-bilād... This is no more than one possible explanation, there are probably others equally valid.

It is more important to ascertain the nature of Aljamía. If Aljamía is a Romance variety, we must compare it to other varieties to establish in what ways it is different. This

1 The term is ambiguous as it refers (a) to the "non-Arabic" from al 'adjamiyya was used "by the Muslims of Al-Andalus to denote the Romance dialects", EI (1960:404); (b) a "Hispanic Romance language" written in Arabic characters, EI (1960:404).

shall be done in Part IV.

As for the examples quoted above in ii), they alter the structure of the Arabic dialect and represent a sort of half-way house between the borrowing of a lexical item as slot fillers, as in example a), i.e. min x, where x is location (1); here x : šanta mariyah de la sibdad de sarağūsa. That the loans are slot fillers may be deduced from the fact that the functional markers (I) are still Arabic - and Aljamía. They illustrate several stages.

The next stage is reached with b) as the function of ša'a /sea can not be clearly stated. It may be a pro-form of 'ayyi (N) or sea (V), representing in a reduced form el que sea, "whomsoever he be". Another example would be: 'arāda farağ šekusiyūn fī 'amwāl-h, with the same ambiguity of function in the Romance loan.

Comparing: faddān lakabelanī de-šeriyūn and
 N N

c) faddān ela karrera sarağūsah
 N I N

the first string is constructed as in Arabic, meaning a field belonging to, whereas in Romance a particle is needed. In c) the underlying structure coincides with Romance up to karrera, reverting to the Arabic model with the absence of the particle de before N, see a).

lakabelanī is ambiguous: la capellanía with gender agreement. "Endowed chapel", el capellán in which case the article is deviant from standard usage in Romance. "Chaplain"

1 It would not be amiss to recall that the convention x for unknown quantity is an Arabic loan itself. x was the Spanish equivalent, that is /ʃ/ for the abbreviation shīn ش /ʃ/ for šay "thing".

c) and d) are paired constructions, that is we have the same semantic idea expressed in Romance then in local Arabic. It is thanks to the Romance that the evolved Arabic form can be defined. In c) ma'a "with" is acquiring a new meaning "by (location)". In d) hukumat "the governing authority" is to be equated with "ğuştisiya" (1).

e) This is where the attitude of the writer is relevant. The scribe considers he is writing Arabic (li-ḥisāb l-musulmīn). Of the three elements of this date only one is Arabic: 'ām 889 AH, the last two are Romance. It is of interest to check when lunar months are substituted for the Romance solar ones (cf. Granada docs.). However, the relinquishing of Arabic numbers indicates according to one school of thought (glotto-chronology) a drastic loss of core lexical items, and for other linguists, a serious reduction in the range of available possibilities of expression similar to that found in pidgin/creole.

We refer the reader back to the table, 7.2, which picks out the points of contact between Arabic and Romance dialects. If borrowing from one language into another goes beyond adopting lexical items, mixed forms or hybridization may be expected. When hybridization becomes generalized, the process may be equated with pidginization, discussed in chapter 5.

A mixed form variety will foster convergency:

I) It must reconcile opposing features, i.e. triliteral root stems and their absence in Romance. Strings a) to e) have items of both kinds, with the balance in favour of Romance.

1 Ribera y Tarragó (1897:458).

Aljamía might be seen as a step further towards the complete disappearance of this feature, present in Spanish Arabic.

II) It will opt for those features found in both languages in contact, i.e. absence of case ending morphs. In the above-mentioned strings there is no indication that case endings are still viable. Particles expand their domain: ma'a, to coincide with L2 usage to mean "belonging to".

III) It has limited choice of patterns. The strings under study do not allow an objective assessment in this case. The point made in a) indirectly supports this view, as it argues for a substantial restriction in the scope of use.(1)

Special attention must be given to word order, because it is a feature in conflict between the two parent languages. In the above examples the deep structure of Arabic and Romance may be considered to have converged and are isomorphic as in the Kupwar case (2). This would explain why complimentary adjectives are fronted in a), thereby reducing the difference, and the date in e), compared to the date in the 1446 text.

Elsewhere the underlying structure may not have reached this extreme. That the process was active would account for the otherwise unaccountable word order of certain strings, such as:

- i) wa 'arāda faraġ šekusiyun fī 'amwāl-h fī kull
 [I V N V or N? I N I
 mawḍi' yūġadu la-h māl
 N [V [V+ØI N N]]]

It could be calque for:

1 Dell Hyme (1971:70).

2 Ibid., p.151; see also 6.2.

y consiente faraġ la retención (N) de sus bienes en
 [I V N el retener (V) I N I]

doquier se encuentren bienes de él
 N [V N I N]]

The problem being, if one discounts the possibility, the determining of the subordinate clause boundaries in the Arabic string. Are we dealing with apposition, relativization, V deletion?

ii) ḥattā 'an yakūn ṣāhibān manṣūfan min wadī'at
 [I V N] .

Although less difficult to analyse, seems more clearly a literal transference of Romance hasta que rather than standard Arabic which would not normally have 'an following ḥattā. Even if it is a grammatical string, its occurrence has been favoured by the existence of a comparable pattern in Romance.

The 1446 text

The last document is, as we have said, a scholastic exercise and reflects therefore the formal end of the language continuum. It is doubtful whether it coincided with any spoken variety, but it marks the limits of the passive competence of Aragonese Arabic speakers. Unfortunately its usefulness is limited by its brevity.

Features observed:

1. wa kāna l-faraġ min-hā fī madrasat
 [I V N I N I N]
2. ġafrān ~ ġafara
6. V → ∅ lā ma'būd sawā-h
 [I V→∅ N I N]

Nevertheless it does illustrate the dual computation of solar and lunar months and the gradual substitution of the Christian calendar that is taking place and has just been seen in Doc.13.

We have also another spelling for Saragossa, possibly a hyper-correction: s-----→ ş / ț (e.g. X verbal measure) rather than a phonetic rendering of the final sibilant.

Diachronic table of features for the documents of Saragossa

Features	Doc.1 <u>1117</u>	Doc.12 <u>1246</u>	Doc.13 <u>1484</u>	<u>1446</u>
1.Word Order VSO	+	+	breaking up	+
.Morphemic alternations				
2.Derived forms RRR	very few	+	very few	very few
3.case ending morphs	+	+	?	-
4.articles deviant to Cl.A.	-	?	+	-
5.particles deviant to Cl.A.	-	+	+	-
.Expand domain				
6.V → ∅	+	+	+	+
7.wa[] fa []	-	+	-	not in text
.Subordination				
8. V 'an	not in text	not in text	+	not in text
9. V li V	"	"	+	"
10. V 'alā 'an	"	"	-	"
11. law V	"	"	-	"
12. kamā V	"	"	+	"
.Relativization				
13. mā V	+	+	+	not in text
14. llatī V	-	+	+	"
15. llatī V	-	-	-	"
.Av. no. of nested clauses	less than 1	1	1 to 2	"
.Negation				
16. mā V	not in text	-	-	-
17. lā V	"	+	+	+
18. lam V	"	+	-	-
19.Romance borrowing	+	+	heavy	one
TOTAL: 19	6?	11	10	4

Nothing definitive can be said about change from Doc.1 to Doc.12, partly because the first deed is so short. There is a distinct increase in the frequency and the variety of derived forms from a single triliteral stem RRR.

For the later period, we may establish part of the language continuum as we did for the C11 to C12, by comparing the styles/registers of Doc.13 and the 1446 text. The picture is incomplete in the lower ranges due to the absence of any popular poetry or private correspondence.

With regard to the Arabic of Doc.13, despite what has been said of the foreign intrusion in its structure, 10 out of 18 features are still present to some degree (excluding the Aljamía section), and this fact must not be overlooked. One does notice a definite absence of complex subordination while coordination is favoured and more particularly [ʾaw V(N)...]. This avoidance of nested clauses is common in spoken varieties, in contradistinction with written language. Doc.13 may be closer to speech than the other documents, but this stylistic choice also implies further proof of the restriction in the scope of use, previously mentioned.

Since the corpus for Valencia is of the same period, a further comparison between it and the later Saragossa texts will follow. Both collections are extracted from official documents and are of the same style.

Features	Valencian Corpus 1462 - 1483	Saragossa Docs. 1446 - 1484
1. Word Order	VSO dominant with reversals	VSO+breaking up
. Morphemic alternations		
2. Derived forms R R R	very few	very few
3. Case ending morphs	-> Ø	-> Ø
4. Articles	+	+
5. Particles	+	+
6. V. -> Ø	+	+
7. wa[] fa[]	+	-
. Subordination		
8. V'an	+	+
9. V li V	+	-
10. V 'alā 'an	-	+
11. law V	-	-
12. kamā V	-	+
. Relativization		
13. mā V	+	+
14. llađī V	+	+
15. llatī V	+	-
. Average No. of nested clauses	3	1
. Negation		
16. mā V	+	-
17. lā V	+	+
18. lam V	-	-
19. Romance borrowings	+	heavy
TOTAL	14	11

Granted that the total of features present in any variety is not to be taken on its own, but as one more factor in the general assessment of more or less x, the comparison reveals:

1. A general instability in the VSO word order, that is more pronounced in Doc. 13 from Saragossa.

2,3. These features are practically nil in both dialects.

9, 12, 15, 16. The feature is present in one dialect and not in the other. It will be taken as an idiosyncratic difference. It would be difficult to justify any other interpretation for lack of supporting evidence.

The low incidence of embedded clauses in the Saragossa corpus shows up quite clearly against the Valencian texts.

Finally, the degree of borrowing is significantly different in the two varieties. Whereas in the Valencian corpus there is one item, a verb form that may be considered as Aljamía, there are strings of clauses in Doc. 13. One further comment shall be made on the subject. In the Cl1 to Cl2, there was massive borrowing and hybridization. It was located in popular poetry and by extension to the colloquial registers. The documents under study, now, are examples of public writing, therefore it is clear that by the end of the fifteenth century, hybridization had invaded the formal styles and by extension registers of the Arabic dialect of Saragossa and reducing drastically as a result the available choice of styles and registers for the Arabic speakers of that region (cf. pidginization 5.3).

7.3.3.2 Navarre

The region of Navarre maintained close links with its neighbour of Aragon. In politics, Navarre often joined forces with the rulers of Aragon. Indeed, one of the main trade routes across the Peninsula, the Ebro valley, runs through both kingdoms. We may assume a certain similarity of institutions (1) and living conditions, as with our next item. It is a charter delivered by the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem to a Moorish community in 1312 (2). The document is quite explicit as to the relationships and exchanges governing both parties: on the one hand the Church and on the other subjects of a different religion and culture. Rural activities are referred to in detail and we consider the language was comprehensible and close to the vernacular of these mudejares (Moorish subjects). An added advantage to this text edited by Pilar León Tello, is that it is accompanied by a Romance version of the same agreement which should provide us with the means of studying interference between the two languages.

*bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm ṣallā allāhu ‘alā
muḥammadin wa ‘alā ‘ālih...
mu‘rafa-h yakūn wa muḥaqqaq-h li-l-kull (3) kayf anā
farey ġīḏ da-sabarāq umīl (4) briyūr min l-‘uśbiṭāl
da-šān ġuwān da-ḡarusalēm ennabara enten diyentes
fazer e-pru weber manātāfi^c (3) ġayr e-ūnūr min l-‘uśbiṭāl
_____ = Romance lexical items; _____ = Aljamía*

- 1 Similar fueros (charters); cf. also Salilla (1312) in 8.3.
- 2 ed. León Tello P. (1964:329ff).
- 3 sic for li-kulli and manāfi^c
- 4 Arabic: amīl "well disposed; biḡaryah "from the village"
Romance: umīl "humble"; biḡariu "vicar"

Navarre (1312). León Tello (1964:329ff). Part I.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صلى الله على محمد و على اله

معربه يكون و محففه للكل كيف انا برای غیذ داشبراف
 امیل بریور من الاشبطال دشن جوان دجرشلام انبره اتن دیاتتاش
 بزار ابرو ابار آمناتامع خیر اونوز من الاشبطال المذكور برای من
 القمان ددوراش ومن الابرایلین من المذكور بریورادوا و برای
 اشییضیال میانت واقرار من دون برای بلكوا دبارا حابس
 موضعنا بی فلجاطش و من دون برای غرسیه شنجاس دفی بغریه
 دفلجاطش و من دون برای شنس دالطایه و من برای رمون
 دبیرینش فلویر [فلجاطش نعظوا ونفروا ببلصیون و شلار و مسکن]
 بی فریتنا اسران و جهانها لکم الجماعه من المسلمین الذین تکنونوا
 فی اسران معلوم من ساعه لکم سعید الطرالی صاحب الصلاة و لکم
 محمد المراتب و لکم احمد دفریاله و لکم محمد فرلانه و لکم یوسیف
 الفوزی و لکم عیس جنتیل و لکم موسی بن سلامه علی و جمیع

1-maḍkūr birāy min 1-qumen dadūreš wa min 1-
efareylīn min 1-maḍkūr briyūredū wa birāy ešbī šiyāl
mijente wa-igrār min dūn farey falkū dabarre hābs
mawḍi' nā fī qalḡetaš wa min dūn farey ḡarsiyah šanḡes
da-gay biḡaryah (1) da-qalḡetaš wa min dūn farey šans
da ateyuḥ wa min farey ramūn da-bayrīnnaš qalawaīr
[qalḡetaš na'tū wa-naqirrū bi-pubalašiyūn wa
šular wa maskan] fī qayāt-nā usrān wa ḡahānhā (2)
 la-kum 1-ḡamā 'ah min 1-muslimīn alladīn takūnnū
 fī usrān ma'alūm min sā'ah la-kum sa'īd t-turelī
 sāhib s-salāt wa la-kum muḡammad 1-murābit wa
 la-hum 'aḡmad da ḡiriellah wa lakum muḡammad qurulānuh
 wa la-kum yūsuf 1-ḡuzī wa la-kum 'īs ḡantīl wa la-kum
 mūsā bnu salāmah 'alī wa ḡamī' ḡamā'at-kum wa li-kull man yaḡī
 'ilā 'amār 'usrān fī 1-'amr li-l-matābi' bi š-šurūt
 1-mu'tarafa-h 'isfāl awwal šay eš a-šaber li kull 'āmīr
 min-kum 'aw li-kull man yaḡī li-s-suknā min hunā ilā 'amām
 naḡtāḡū 'an na'tū naḡnu wa 1-'ušbiṭāl 1-maḍkūr qašāl min
 dār kāmīl fī 1-mawḍi' 1-maḍkūr wa ḡawmāt huwa ma'alūm
 b_l_s_t_h (3) 'ašlār 'an dayr 'aw adyār debedeš fazer
 kull 'āmīr min-kum li nafaḡat-h wa tamānīyat 'aqfizah
 muzarra'a min maḡādīr min ḡayl tutayla wa kull 'ašra
 ri-ḡāla (4) min karmāt [wa-ḡadā huwa qašāl kāmīl] wa-ḡadā
 kull qašāl kāmīl min 1-maḍkūr wa fawq 'an yuḡram tamānīyat
 danānīr wa nišf min maḡram min sikkat nabarro eš a-šaber

1 See fn.2 p.251.

2 HJB: جها: district.

3 HJB: perhaps Romance: balašat-hu "place".

4 HJB: "foot" probably: a day's work, i.e. acreage worked in a day.

Navarre (1312). León Tello (1964:329ff). Part II.

جماعتكم ولكل من يحى الى عار اسران فى الامر للناصح
وبالشروط المقررة اسبال اول شى اتى اشارة لكل عامر
مكم او لكل من يحى للسكان من هنا الى امام محتاجوا
ان يغطوا نحن والاشطال المذكور فبال من دار كامل فى
الوضع المذكور وحومات هو معلوم بلصطه اشار عن ديار
او ادبار دبادش برار كل عامر مكم لتبته وثانية اغبره مزرعه
من مفادير من كيل نطيله وكل عشرة رجالة من كرمات وهذا هو
فبال كامل و هذا كل فبال كامل من المذكور ويوفى ان يفرم
ثانية دنانير ونصف من مفرم من سكة نيره اش اشارة الخمسة دنانير
عن الدار والثلاثة دنانير نصف عن الكرم وان كان ويحى و يربد
ويحس نصف فبال ان ينصب نصف المفرم فى المفرم المذكور والخمس
دنانير المذكور من مفرم الدار ان ينصبها عن كل عام عن طول
الابد فى ميد طودش شطوش والسمية الثلاثة دنانير ونصف عن
الكرمات فى ميد شن ميكال من كل عام وكل فبال له ان
يعطى زوج داجاج للفسطلان او لكل فايد يكون فى اسران فى
كل عام فى ميد ندال وهذا كله عن شرط ايضا بان يتم المذكور
اجماعه ويكون السمية والذين يكونوا من هنا الى امام ان
تغطوا الاشطال المذكور فى هذا الوضع الثلث من كل ما تجمعوا
من طعام ومن عنب ومن زيتون ومن بول ومن جلابان ومن
كل نوع من كل ما تجمعوا ومن كل ياكه واجنيه وجنا
بيه وهذا كله ان يحصلوه فى عهد وميثاق وصدق وكل مسلم
ان يحس دار ونار فى اسران المذكور ان يفرم لفايد اسران
الذى يكون على الاشطال المذكور ربع من فتح النصابة من فتح
والنصابة من شعر فى شهر اغشت عن كل عام عن طول الابد
وكل دار ان يعطى الاشطال المذكور اربعة مرايف من تبن فى
كل عام من الايام وقاله شرط اتم وكل علم مسلم و مسلمين
فى الوضع المذكور ان يغطوا كل نفقة ان يحتاج فى الوضع
المذكور ان يغطوا كل نفقة ان يحتاج فى الوضع المذكور عن
الاميا كل واحد منكم كما يشفى و [فى فتح الكتان] والفم هذا هو
ان يكون جميع الزريعة من الكتان والفم من الذين يزرعونها
و متى ما يكون الكتان والفم مطبوخ وباسد ومربوط ان يفسوها
الثلث للاشطال والثلث من كل واحد منهم والاشطال المذكور
ان ينصب الثلث من النفقة من الدخول فى البرقة واخرج
من البرقة ايضا ان يطبخوا المسلمين المذكور خبزهم فى برن
الاشطال المذكور من دايه الدهر وان يغطوا من ستة عشر خبزه
واحد وان لا يغطوا اشجار ولا يغطوا كرمات دون امر فايد
اسران وان كان يغطوا زوج مسلمين او ثلثة ويتبنوا فى دار
واحد وكل واحد منهم يحس زوجته ويوفى نار ان يعمل كل واحد

l-kamsat danānīr 'an d-dār wa t-talāṭat danānīr niṣf 'an
 l-karm wa 'in kāna ^{wā}yaǧī wa yurīd wa-yaḥbis niṣf qaṣāl
 'an yunṣif niṣf l-maǧram fī l-maǧram l-maḍkūr wa l-
 kamsah danānīr l-maḍkūrah 'an maǧram d-dār 'an
 yanṣif-hā 'an kull 'ām 'an ṭūl l-abd fī 'īd ṭūduṣ
ṣanṭūs wa l-musimiyat t-talāṭat danānīr wa niṣf 'an l-
 kurmāt fī 'īd ṣan mīkāyīl min kull 'ām wa kull qaṣāl
 la-h 'an ya'tī zawǧ dāǧāǧ li-l-qaṣṭilān 'aw li-kull qāyīd
 yakūn fī 'usrān fī kull 'ām fī 'īd naḍāl wa haḍā
 kull-h 'an šarṭ 'ayḍan bi 'an antum l-maḍkūrah 'aǧma'ah
 wa sukkān l-musimiyat wa alladīn yakūnū min hunā ilā
 'amārn 'an ta'tū l-uṣbiṭāl l-maḍkūr fī haḍā l-
 mawḍi' t-tilṭa min kull mā taǧma'ū min ṭa'ām
 wa-min 'inab wa min zaytūn wa min fūl wa min ǧulubbān
 wa min kull naw' min kull mā taǧma'ū wa min kull
 fākihah wa 'aǧniyat wa ǧanān fī-h wa haḍā kull-h
 'an ya'malū-h fī 'ahd wa mītāq wa šidq wa kull muslim
 'an yaḥbis dār wa nār fī 'usrān l-maḍkūr 'an yaǧram
 l-qāyīd 'usrān alladī yakūn 'alā l-uṣbiṭāl l-maḍkūr
 rub' min qamḥ n-niṣāf min qamḥ wa n-niṣāfah min ša'īr fī
 šahar aǧušt 'an kull 'ām 'an ṭūl l-'abad wa kull dār
 'an yu'tiyya l-uṣbiṭāl l-maḍkūr 'arba' h marāfiq min
 ṭibn fī kull 'ām fī 'anādir wa ḍālika našriṭ 'antum
 wa kull 'ām muslim wa muslimīn fī mawḍi' l-maḍkūr
 'an ta'mlū kull nafaqa-h 'an yaḥtāǧa fī l-mawḍi'
 l-maḍkūr 'an ta'malū kull nafaqa-h 'an yaḥtāǧa fī l-mawḍi'
 l-maḍkūr 'an l-amyā (l) kull wāḥid min-kum kamā yaṣfī wa

[fī qal'a l-kattān] wa l-qanam haḍā huwa 'an yakūn ḡamī' z-zarī' ah min l-kattān wa l-qanam min allaḍīna yuzra' ūn-hā wa matā mā yakūn l-kattān wa l-qanam maṭbūk wa yābis wa marbūt 'an yaqsimū-hā t-tilt li-ušbitāl wa tiltīn min kull wāḥid min-hum wa l-ušbitāl l-maḍkūr 'an yunṣifa t-tilt min n-naḡaḡah min d-dukūl fīl-birḡah (1) waukurūḡ min l-birḡah (1) ayḍan 'an yaṭbukū l-mus-limīn l-maḍkūrah kubz -hum fī furn l-ušbitāl l-maḍkūr 'an dāym d-dahr wa 'an yu'tū min sittat 'ašra kubz-hwāḥid wa 'an lā yaqṭa' ū 'ašḡār wa-lā yaqla' ū karmāt dūn 'amr qāyid 'usrān wa 'an kāna yaṣṭalḥū zawḡ mus-limīn 'aw tilt wa-yatafqū fī dār wāḥid^{wa kull wāḥid} min hum yaḥbis zawḡat wayḡid nār 'an ya'mal kull wāḥid min hum ḡaqq-h li-ušbitāl 'an yaḡram kamā kull wāḥid min l-ākār kamā yaḥbis 'an dār 'ayḍan li-l-qumandūr 'an yakūn fī qalḡaṭas 'an zamān wa li-mata' usrān 'an yakūn fī-h qumandūr 'an taḥruzū-h wa taḥbisū-h 'an mawl fī 'ism l-ušbitāl l-maḍkūr wa 'an yakūn haḍā ḡākima-kum wa māmūr-kum wa 'an yakūn ḡamī' kuṣumāt-kum [l-'amrah] ḡukmah wa 'in kāna turīdū ta'malū min ḡukmāh 'irtifā' 'an [taḡḡā -] ta'malū-h 'amārn kull qāḍī 'an yakūn muslimmin tuṭaylah kara-wa sunnat-kum wa šar' =kum wa 'an takūnū 'aḡsām-kum wa 'amūl-kum multazimah l-ušbitāl l-maḍkūr wa ḡālika bi-šarṭ 'allā yumkin li-aḡad min-kum 'an takruḡū min l-mawḍī' l-maḍkūr 'in kāna l-kum 'an tu'utū [aw taḡsū šay min ḡālika 'alay-kum] šay li-l-ušbitāl l-maḍkūr wa 'in kāna ya'mal-hā 'aḡd min-kum 'an

yakūn mardūd fī 'ayy mawḍi' yamši wa kull wāḥid min-kum
 lā yabī'u wa lā yarhan [šay] min mirāt l-'uṣbitāl li-
 naṣarānī wa-lā li-yuhūdī 'illā bayna-kum fī layyin min
 kull 'āmir muslim yakūn min-kum wa 'aydan 'an
 tasta'milū l-amyā r-rabī' (1) min mawḍū l-maḍkūr bi-
 dawābb-kum wa ḡanam-kum wa-min l-'uṣbitāl ka-dālika kamā
 ḡirān wa l-'uṣbitāl l-maḍkūr lā yasūq 'anam (2) akar
 wa lā dawābb akar wa min ru'āt-h wa naḥnu naḥbisū
 'an l-'uṣbitāl l-maḍkūr s-sayyidat l-'uḡmā d-diyāt wa
 l-ḡanayāt [wa-ḡaṣba] ṭ-ṭāriqāt wa-ḡaṣb n-nisā wa-l-ašyā-h
 l-akar llaḍīna yakūn fī-l-mawḍi' l-maḍkūr wa ḥawmāt-h
 wa l-'uṣbitāl l-maḍkūr 'an yaḥbisū-kum fī šarḥ
 kum wa sunnat-kum wa 'awāyid-kum kamā yanbaḡā li-haḍā l-
 'āmirīn wa naḥnu l-ḡamā'at l-maḍkūrah 'annā wa 'an allaḍīn
 yakūnū min ba'dinā 'an ya'amrū fī-l-mawḍi' l-maḍkūr nakūdu
 l-'aṭiyah l-maḍkūrah 'an-kum mawlānā l-biryūr wa nakūd-kum
 'an mawl la-kum wa ḡamī' l-freblīn (3) min š-šbitāl wa li-
 'amr bi-h wa naḥnu nakūnū 'abīd-kum min-kum wa min
 l-'uṣbitāl l-maḍkūr wa naqablū 'aydī-kum kamā mawl (4)
 'an naḥtāḡū 'an nuṭī'-h fī kull šay wa naḥnu l-biryūr
 l-maḍkūr wa 'aḡmā'ah l-maḍkūrat nargabū li-dūn baṭruḥ
 ḡar-siyas l-mutaqabbil ḥābis ṭābī sayyidnā l-malik min
 nabarrah fī tutaylah 'an yaḡ'al ṭ-ṭābī' min sayyidinā
 l-malik min nabarrah mu'lun fī haḍā l-'aqd wa 'anā dūn
 baṭruḥ ḡarsiyas l-maḍkūr li-raḡbat l-ḡamī'at l-maḍkūrah
 ḡa'altu ṭ-ṭābī' mu'lun fī haḍā l-'aqd li-tatbiyat ḡamī'
 l-ašyā l-maḍkūr wa 'ašhada 'alā dālika man sami'-hu

- 1 HJB: perhaps a cognate of marabi "meadow".
- 2 HJB: probably ḡanam = shepherd.
- 3 HJB: possibly ṭ-ṭābī' = fraylin, "the brothers, the friars".
- 4 An example from the many erratic spellings Mawl Mawlan
loss of ending.

منهم حقه للاشغال ان يفرم كما كل واحد من الآخر كما يحس من
 حله ايضا للفندور ان يكون في فلباطش من زمان و لنع اسران
 لمن يكون به فندور ان تعزوه ونعوه من مول في اسم
 الاشغال المذكور وان يكون هنا جاككم واموركم وان يكون
 جميع خصلكم [لامر] حكمه وان كان تريدوا تملوا من حكمه
 ارتفاع ان [تدحاوا] تملوه امام كل قاضي ان يكون مسلم من تطله
 كيلو منكم و شرعكم وان تكونوا اجاسكم واموالكم ملتزمه الاشغال
 المذكور و ذلك بشرط الا يمكن لاحد منكم ان تخرجوا من الموضع
 المذكور ان كان لكم ان تطلوا [اونجوا] شي من ذلك طلبكم
 شي للاشغال المذكور وان كان يملها احد منكم ان يكون مردود في
 ابي موضع منشي و كل واحد منكم لا ينج ولا يره من [شي] من
 ميراث الاشغال نصراني ولا يهودي الا منكم في البين من
 كل عمر مسلم يكون منكم وايضا ان تستملوا الامه وانبيع
 من الموضع المذكور بدوابكم و غنمكم ومن الاشغال كذلك كما
 جهران والاشغال المذكور لا يوفه من اخر ولا دواب اخر
 ومن رمايه ونحن نعوه من الاشغال المذكور السبعة
 العظمى اللوات والجنات [ونصب] الطرقات ونصب النساء والاشياء
 الاخر الذين يكون في الموضع المذكور وحوماء والاشغال المذكور
 ان يحسوك في شرعكم ومنكم وموابكم كما ينبغي لهذا المظيرين
 ونحن الجاعة المذكورة هنا ومن الذين يكونوا من ههنا ان
 يمسروا في الموضع المذكور فغود العطب المذكورة عنكم مولانا
 البرور و فغودكم من مول لكم و جميع الابراطين من الشغال
 ولامره و نحن نكونوا مبيدكم منكم ومن الاشغال المذكور
 و فقلوا ايديكم كما مول ان نحتاجوا ان نطعمه في كل شي ونحن
 البرور المذكور واجامه المذكورة نرغبوا لدون بطره فرسيس
 البتبل حابس طابع سيدنا الملك من نيره في تطله ان يجعل
 الطابع من سيدنا الملك من نيره نملن في هنا العمد وانا دون
 بطره فرسيس المذكور لرغبة العبة المذكورة جعلت الطابع مملن
 في هنا العمد لتثبيت جميع الاشياء المذكور واشهد على ذلك من
 سمعه منهم و فالك في شهر بربر الثامن عشر يوم منه الذي من
 منه احنا عشر و سبع مائه موس اللبلى المجنى و ذون يانفه دشوه
 صير في ولب بارس دريس والرايت ابن وليد من بطريج و عيس
 بن موسى بليتوا

min-hum wa dālika fī šahar fabrīr t-tāman 'ašra
yawm min llaḏī min sanat 'aḥdā 'ašra wa-sab' a māyah.
mūsa al-l-b lī l-m-ḡtī wa dūn yāniḡuḥ da ušūḥ sayir fī
lub bārs durīs wa l-murābit ibn walīd min baṭrīḡ wa
'īs bnu mūsā puliyūn.

Translation

It is well known and certain that I, FRIAR GUY DE SEVERAC, HUMBLE PRIOR of the HOSPITAL OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN NAVARRE INTENDING TO MAKE and to AFFORD profits, good and HONOUR for the said HOSPITAL in the opinion of the COMMANDERS and the FRIARS of the said PRIORY and in the opinion ESPECIALLY of FRIAR DON FALCO DE BARRE, custodian of our place in CALCHETAS and with his consent and that of FRIAR DON GARCÍA SÁNCHEZ DE CAY of CALCHETAS and that of FRIAR DON SANZ DE ATEYO and FRIAR DON RAYMON DE VEYRIÑAS THE KEEPER [CALCHETAS we grant and establish for INHABITING](and) A SITE and a dwelling in the village of ours of Urzante and its district to you the Moslem community which is to be formed in Urzante known at the moment as you Said Atureli, the leader of the Prayer, and Mohamed Almoravid, Ahmed of GRIELLA, and to you Mohamed Curulanu, Yusuf Alguzí and Isa GENTIL and Musa Ibn Salema and the whole of your community and to all of those who come to settle in Urzante in accordance with the instruction and the terms conceded following the conditions granted below.

Firstly, TO WIT to all the residents among you and those who may come to settle from now on, we propose [advance] that ourselves and the HOSPITAL shall give a complete LOT with a house in the aforementioned place and neighbourhood. TO WIT for the place?, the sites for houses or dwellings? every settler among you MUST MAKE UP towards the outlay: that is 8 measures of grain for sowing in measures of TUDELA standard 10 days work of vineyard [that is the complete LOT] that is for each complete LOT of the aforementioned on the condition that 8½ (dinars) TO WIT: 5 dinars for the house and 3½ for a vineyard and if any should come and want to occupy half a LOT, his share of the said contribution will be halved. The said 5 dinars, as compensation for the house, are to be paid every year at the latest always by ALL SAINTS and the above-mentioned 3 dinars per vineyard by MICHAELMAS every year and each lot will provide each year a pair of chickens for the LANDLORD or any commander of Urzante for CHRISTMAS. And all this on the condition also that you from the said communities, the above-mentioned inhabitants and those to come from now on, give the HOSPITAL in this place 1/3 of all you harvest of food, grapes, olives,

beans, peas and every variety you gather in the way of fruits and produce harvested thereupon. All this is to be done fulfilling truly the agreement. Every Moslem who has a house and fire in Urzante shall pay the commander of Urzante who is there representing the HOSPITAL $\frac{1}{4}$ of a bushel of grain - $\frac{1}{2}$ of what and $\frac{1}{2}$ of barley in the month of AUGUST every year for always. Every house shall give the said HOSPITAL 4 measures (bales) of straw every year from the threshing floor. And all this, we grant on the condition also that every year each Moslem settler and the Moslem inhabitants of this place, you make up the costs advanced in this place concerning the water, each one of you in relation to what was used (raised and scattered). [As regards to the gathering of flax] and hemp (the following): and that is that all that is sown of flax and hemp and that is cultivated thereof and what is (left) of flax and hemp be heated, dried and tied. Let that be divided, $\frac{1}{3}$ for the HOSPITAL and $\frac{2}{3}$ for all. The one of the said HOSPITAL to be divided $\frac{1}{3}$ for the costs of entering and removing it from the pond. Also that the above-mentioned Moslems cook their bread in the HOSPITAL's oven always, and forever and to give as tithe one of (every) 16 loaves. One is not to cut trees nor pull out vines without the order of the commander of Urzante. IF 2 or 3 Moslems should get together to form a household, if one, all, or one of them should have a wife and light a fire, all or one of them should make up what is of right to the HOSPITAL and pay the charges all of them or one of them according to the tenancy of the house. Furthermore, as for the COMMANDER, if there be one of them for a time in CALCHETAS or the one of Urzante, if there be one there, you are to take care of him and hold him as landlord on behalf of the HOSPITAL and he shall be your judge, arbitrator in the matter and he shall be present in your disputes and should you wish to appeal against a sentence of his, let it go hence in all cases? before the qādī, that is Moslem judge, of TUDELA according to your law and custom.

And on the condition that body and chattels are bound over to the HOSPITAL above-mentioned so that none of you will have the power to leave the said district owing [or a thing about this from them] anything to the HOSPITAL. Should one of you do it he will be returned from whatever place he goes. Let none of you sell or mortgage a thing from the estate of the HOSPITAL to a Christian, a Jew, except between you, in the transfer from one settler to another who must be from among you. On the condition that you use the water and the meadows? of the above-mentioned districts with your cattle and sheep and (those) of the HOSPITAL as with neighbours and that the Hospital shall not drive the herd by any other than its own shepherd and that you shall not bring other cattle and tend it?

We shall keep for the above-mentioned HOSPITAL, the higher authority, the blood monies and (jurisdiction over) offences, highway robbery, forcing women and other things which may happen in this place and neighbourhood. The said hospital shall keep you to your law, traditions and custom, as it should with both parties of dwellers. We, the Aljama above-mentioned, on our behalf and on behalf of those to come after us to inhabit the given location, accept the above-mentioned donation from you, our Lord, the PRIOR and receive for Lord, you and all the FRIARS of the HOSPITAL and their command and we become your servants and (those) of the said HOSPITAL and we kiss your hand as Lord and we allege that we shall keep to all these things. We, the afore-mentioned PRIOR, and the Aljama above described, request DON PEDRO GARCÍEZ to grant the delivery? (holding) of the seal of our Lord the King of NAVARRE in TUDELA and to affix it on behalf of our Lord the King of NAVARRE and ratify this as to its validity. I, DON PEDRO GARCÍEZ, the above mentioned, on the request of the above named, put the seal to ratify this as to its validity, confirming all the previously mentioned things and (the following) are witnesses in this matter of what they heard from them and this (took place) in the month of FEBRUARY, the 18th day of that month in the year 711. Musa ... DON IENNEGO DE UXO ... and LOPE PERES Duriz and Almoravid Ibn Walid from PEDRIZ and Isa Ibn Musa POLLÓN.

If we take the 1330 Bill of Sale for crown property at Jerez, Granada and compare it to this charter, we may appreciate synchronically how much Arabic dialects diverge within similar registers/styles. A cursory glance would reveal the paucity of verbal forms, the endless litany of yakūn, yakūn mardūd for yardud and a few creations such as: -ḥtāġ- , taġsū.

How else does one explain the Romance intrusion of:

eš a-šaber "that is to say, to wit"
debedeš fazer "you must do"

The new forms spread elsewhere to N components:

māmūr, perhaps a cognate of mumarran "expert"

rabī^c, a cognate of marābi^c "meadows"?

Old forms acquire or are assigned new meanings:

yanšif "to halve" is used also in the sense of "to pay".

We shall now take a closer look at the features under study:

. Word Order: erratic.

- (a) li- kull 'āmir min-kum...naḥtāğū
[I N N I N V ...]
- (b) 'an na'tū naḥnu wa ... qašāl
[I V N I N ...]
- (c) 'an yaqsimū-hā t-tilt li-l-ūšbiṭāl
[I V N I N ...]
- (d) wa naḥnu naḥbisū 'an l-ūšbiṭāl s-sayyidat
[I N V I N N ...]

(b) and (c) are subordinate clauses. Most subordinate clauses retain the predicted word order for Arabic. From other word order studies (1) it would seem that these strings reflect conservative usage longer than independent clauses. This is true for unrelated languages and must be universal.

Naḥnu in (b) and (d) is a redundant N (subject) for the information is still present in the V component. The occurrence of a subject pronoun may well be symptomatic of a new word order emerging. The fronting of the adjective as in: min l-maḍkūr briyuredū is strong evidence for this hypothesis.

. Morphemic alternations.

Here are a few examples of derived forms from trilateral roots:

Ḡ M C: tağma^Cū, ḡamī^C, aḡmā^Cat, ḡamā^Cat

C T W: tu^Cuṭu, C aṭiyah, yu^Cṭū, yu^Cṭiyya

However, the norm is tedious repetition of the same form:

yakūn, yaḥbisū.

Case ending morphs: There are traces of nunation, i.e. ḡanan:¹

but it usually takes the shape of ان جلابان ḡulubban.

The spelling of mawl: مول "Lord" for مولى shows that

1 Harris ed. (1977).

such case endings are archaic and no longer understood as affixes.

V components (imperfective) show the na-morph common to other Maghribi dialects (see (b) and (d)). The presence of such a feature would indicate the conscious intention of writing this charter in an idiom close to the vernacular spoken in the above-mentioned Mudejar community. This feature is scarcely ever found in the formal style.

Particles.

Whether particles have expanded their domain with respect to formal usage might be debatable, as in *muḥaqqaq-h li l-kull; briyūr min l-'uṣbiṭāl*. What is obvious is their profusion: *li-kull man yaḡī 'ilā 'amār 'usrān fī l-'amr li-l-mutābi' bi š-šarūt*

They are examples of periphrastic patterns which enable one to avoid the complex verbal system that characterizes Arabic. It confirms our first impression of verbal paucity.

. Expansion

V→∅ deletion clauses.

wa haḏā kull 'an šart 'ayḏan bi 'an
[IV→∅ N N I S I I [...]]

ka-ḏālika kamā ḡirān wa
[I V-∅ N I N]

There are no instances of wa ... fa coordinations.

V'an is the dominant pattern of subordination.

Relativization:

e) *'aḡmā'āt wa sukkān l-muṣṣimiyat wa alladīn yakūnū min hunā*
[N I N2 N3 I [N4 V I
'ilā amām
I]

b) *min kull mā taḡma'ū*
I N [N V]

h) ʿan-nā wa ʿan alladīn yakūnū min baʿdinā
 I N I I [N V I I N]

In (e) and (g) there seems to be a degree of gender uncertainty.

In (e), for instance, N1 and N3 have feminine morphs (t) but not N2. Moreover, one might expect for N4 alladīn, the feminine form. Unless pattern N[N..V] no longer holds, what we have in this string is N1=F and N2=M + N3=F and N4=M.

In (g) N1 and N2 refer to things. In formal Arabic concord should be with a feminine form, this is not the case with alladīn. The rule is not unknown, see enclitic -hā but does not apply with alladī. (h) illustrates the loss of the head. The preposition min before the relative marker may be considered as general trend of change in Spanish Arabic dialects of this period (see Granadan and Valencian Arabic 7.3).

.kamā has undergone a change as well. Although it can introduce clauses, it serves as comparison marker for N components, in a similar fashion to cognate ka, which is another way of saying that, as the particle, it has extended its domain:

naqbalū ʿaydī-kum kamā mawl
 [V N I N]

ka-dālika kamā ġīrān
 [I V→∅ N N I N]

Negation takes the form of: lā V.

. Romance borrowing.

The borrowing is greatest at the beginning of the charter and of a different nature than that of the main part or conditions of settlement. For that reason the "prologue" or identification of the parties is to be discussed later, in Chapter 8.

In the central part of the deed, the ^CAḡamī content is a surface phenomenon. Romance loans serve as slot fillers

to an underlying structure that is Arabic in nature. They are of three kinds: (i) proper nouns: galğetas, šan mīkāil, of these some have been arabicized: tuṭayla, ʿuṣbiṭāl.

/osp/ in hospital is impossible in Arabic. The form is accommodated to ʿuṣbiṭāl, š-šbiṭāl; (ii) technical nouns: gašāl, qumandūr; (iii) two syntactic loans, lifted as such from Romance: eš a-šaber, debedeš fazer. There seems no apparent justification for them except to compensate for a lack of knowledge in Arabic.

Coming back to the opening paragraph, reproduced in its essentials for convenience:

mu^crafa-h yakūn wa muḥaqq^h li-l-kull kayf anā farey^gid ...
 [N V I N I N [I N N
briyūr min l-uṣbiṭāl ... entendiyenteš fazer e pruweber
 N I N N [V] [I V
 manātāfi^c ġayr e ünūr min l-uṣbiṭāl birāy min l-qumendadūres
 N I N I N I N I N
 na^ctū wa naqirrū bi-pubalašwūn ... fī qaryat-nā usrān ...
 V] I V
 lakum l-ğamā^cah min l-muslimīn alladīn takūnnū fī usrān

_____ = Romance

is a word for word translation of the Romance (1). As such it is an admixture of Arabic and Romance. The word order and the splitting up of the two participles ((a) and (b)) is ungrammatical in Arabic and the fronting of the adjective in the previous instance. The underlying structure is clearly Romance, even if some of the slot fillers are Arabic loans. One cannot classify this a pidgin, as there is no sign of the characteristic simplification of structures and loss of features.

1 Cf. 8.3.

It is Aljamiado? Yes, in the sense that it is Romance written in Arabic script. It is Aljamía? No, if this term describes the non-Arabic variety spoken by Moors. No, the paragraph is a word for word translation of the Romance version. Yes, in the sense that some adaptation has taken place to accommodate impossible clusters in Arabic:

proveer --> puweber

prior --> briyūr

Finally, the dating system is a mixture of Christian solar calendar and Moslem year dating, i.e.

February 18th year 711.

7.3.3.3 Toledo

On account of its geographical position in the centre of the Iberian peninsula, Toledo has been ever since the Goths one of the largest and most important cities of the land; the kings frequently took up residence there. It is situated in an almost circular bend of the Tagus and was until modern times a natural fortress. Consequently, it became a place of refuge for the discontent from both sides of the frontier.(1) The third fact to be taken into account, which explains the fortunes of this densely populated city, is that it was the only stronghold for miles around. There was safety within its gates for returning soldiers and merchants. Isolated from Al-Andalus, the city finally surrendered after a long siege to Alfonso VI, King of Castile, in 1085.

How much Arabic was still being spoken and until when? The sources consulted (2), which cover the period up to the first quarter of C14, lead us to believe that the Moslems who stayed on, in or near the city were few. They were mainly farmers and craftsmen. The rest had either left for Granada, gone to North Africa and the East or converted. We do not know yet how many converted (3). Under this guise, they may well appear in these documents (2) attributed to the Mozarabs.

The Mozarabs (4) of Toledo were descendants of the Christians who lived under Moslem rule. In Al-Andalus they

- 1 Alfonso VI of Castile, himself, spent part of his youth at the Dūl Nūn court, l.l.
- 2 González Palencia (1931), BNM Ms.5052.
- 3 Parish records would offer some indication, if they still exist.
- 4 Doc.141, dated 1178, one of witnesses signs in Roman script: Ego Dominicus, mistarabs, testis.

spoke at first Latin vernacular, then Romance, and used in their documents Arabic as koiné. Gradually Arabic took the place of Latin and this was the situation in Toledo. From the statements of some witnesses below, some were monolingual speakers of Arabic, others were bilingual (Arabic/Romance). The educated knew Latin and written Arabic.

Neither should one forget the Jews; in one curious deed dated 1273 we have a bill of sale for the milling rights held by Abū 'Umar and Abī Iṣḥāq, the sons of el-Hasan 'Benyamin Ibn Abī Iṣḥāq to the Bishop of Cuenca and the text is in Arabic! From this and other documents it seems clear that Arabic was their usual language of business.

After 1315, little is known as to how long Arabic survived in Castile, and who spoke it.

The first two texts are grouped together as they are previous to the C13. No.8, dated 1112 AD (1) is the record of the sale of some land between Mozarabs or converted Moslems, as we believe. This would explain the reason for stating that this property had formerly belonged to Moslems. Had they been Christians of standing (Mozarabs), such a statement would have been saying the obvious. Before the fall or conquest of Toledo, a generation earlier, all property would have been owned by Moslems barring a few exceptions. The implication of the comment above is that the property to be sold had been in their family for generations, at the time when they were of another faith. Note the invocation after Toledo: May God purify it! Furthermore, these Christians, whether converts or Mozarabs, kept using Arabic names; the priest, mentioned in document No. 8 is called l-qass Ibn farḥūn.

1 González Palencia catalogue numbers are retained for convenience. We have used solely his edited text without reference to the originals. "These may have been standardized in the edited version." (Personal communication, Dr.M.J. Vigueras Molins, 1983).

'āstarā duminqā^hbnu yaḥya min sufiyyān bnu abī l-baqī wa
 mufaraḡ bn kayr ḡamī^c ḥiṣṣat-humā min l-munyat llatī
 bi-manzal muṣkat min naḡar madīnat tulayṭulat ḥama^c hā
 llāhu wa ḡalika t-tult min ḡamī^c hādā-h l-munyat llatī
 ta'arrifu fī 'ahd l-'islām li-'ayy muslimīn ma'a tult bīr
 wa tult timār l-qabāwb? 'alā l-buḡay-rat wa tult ṣ-ṣahrīḡ
 ma'a ... wa-l-maḡkal wa l-maḡraḡ 'ilā l-bīr wa ṣ-ṣahrīḡ
 wa-ḡadd hādā t-tult l-maḡkūr fī ṣ-ṣarḡ karm li-'abī
 'iṣḡaq l-qamarātā (1) ma'a l-qass ibn farḡūn wa-fī-l-ḡarb
 ḥiṣṣat li-waratāt yaḥya bnu sarīr raḡima-hu llāhu wa-fī
 qiblat fadātu. (2) ḡub-s 'alā ṣant falīḡ wa-fī ḡawf t-tarīḡ
 d-dāḡil 'ilā l-qarḡiyyat ... bi-'adad mablaḡ-h min ḡ-ḡahabi
 l-murābiṭiyyat 'aslufat 'aṣar mitḡāl'a fī 'awwalī ṣahar
ṣatanbir 'ām ḡamsīn wa māyat wa 'alf tārīḡ ṣ-ṣafar
 'anna tult l-munyat l-maḡkūrat fawq hādā 'anna tult 'arḡ-hā
 arḡ bayḡan ḡāwyat 'an ḡamī^c t-tamarāt wa l-karm
 wa l-ḡirāsāt wa-ḡamī^c tult l-maḡkūr bi-ḡayr taḡlīḡ wa lā
 'i^c tamār
 'umar bnu sa'īd ṣāhid...
 ba'ḡ 'iḡrār l-farīḡayn fī t-tārīḡ l-mu'arraḡ 'in ṣāilāhu.

_____ = Romance loans

Translation

Domingo Ibn Yaḥya bought from Sufian, son of Abilbaqi,
 and from Mufaraḡ Ibn Kayr the whole share of theirs
 in the irrigated estate that is in Manzel Mosca in the
 jurisdiction of the city of Toledo - May God purify it!
 That is a 1/3 of that estate which is known to have
 belonged to some Moslems in Islamic times, with a 1/3
 share of the well and 1/3 of the produce picked? in the

- 1 sic GP: "Camarena", misprint t for n, ḡ for j .
- 2 HJB: possibly faddān; GP: a day's ploughing (acre).

vegetable garden and 1/3 of the share of the reservoir and access to the well and reservoir. The border of this 1/3 share is to the East the vineyard of Abī Ishaq el Camarena with [the land] of the priest Ibn Fahrūn; to the West, the allotment of the inheritors of Yaḥya Ibn Sarīr - May God have mercy upon him! to the South a field donated to [the church of] San Felix and in the opposite direction the road that leads to Alcardete ... The price, for the sum of 10 mizcals in old gold Amoravid coinage, on September 1st in the year 1150 (brass era) [on the condition] that it is a 1/3 of the above mentioned irrigated estate, 1/3 of the land is white soil [cereal land] bare of all produce, vine and cultivation and that the entire 1/3 part is without fencing and has not been cultivated. Omar Ibn Sa'id bears witness... after confirmation from both parties on the fixed date. God willing!

Text No. 993, dated 1173 AD, is the record of a successful appeal made to the archbishop of Toledo on behalf of Julian de Casachica. It is a lively firsthand account of how some farmers, on hearing that the archbishop was in their neighbourhood, spontaneously stood up to their landlord, the Primate of Spain, in defence of one of their own. This account is quite remarkable for its authenticity and the fact that the exchange was in Arabic.

qāla la-h ba'd maḥaql qanālaš mā wana-h 'anna 'ahl
 [V I N I N [N V N][I N
qanālaš yafza'ū minka li-sabab mā taṭlub bi-h li-yulyān
 V I N I N [N V I N I N
da qāšat ḡīqah min 'amr qaryat-h wa-lakin narḡabū-k
 I N I]][I I V
 li-waḡhi llāhi l-'azīmi 'an taḥulla ṭalab=k 'an-h min
 I N N [I V N I N I
 'amr tilka l-qaryat wa-lā taḡgur 'alay-h šay fī-hā
 N N]][I I V I N N I N]
 fa- sakata l-miṭrān l-maḡkūr 'an ḡawāb burhāt tumma qāla
 [I V N I N N]][I V !
 'anā qad ḥalalt ṭalabī li-yulyān da qāšat ḡīqat l-maḡkūr
 [N I V N I N
 fī tilka l-qaryat li-waḡhi llāhi l-'azīmi wa 'alā šarṭ
 I N N N I I N
 'an ya'mura-hā wa- 'in šā bayi-hā fa-lā yabī-hā 'illā mi'man
 [N V N]][I I V N N][I I V N I [N
 yaltazim lawāzīm qanālaš tumrna ba'd hīna min gawl-h
 V N]][I I N I N
 dālika qāla
 V]

'ayḏan wa yabī' -hā mimān yašā li anī bi-yamān llāhi ta'alā
 [I I V N [N V I N]] [I N
 'aḡ'al -l-mubtā' 'iyyā-hā min-h 'an yaltazim lawāzim
 V I N I N I N [I V N
 qanālaš li-sabab mā tilka l-qaryat min taḡm qanālaš.
 I N [N V → ∅ N I N]]]

Translation

They spoke to him then of a field of Canales which weighed upon him (Julian) saying that "the people of Canales appeal to you (seek refuge with) on account of that which you claim from Julian de Casa Chica in the matter of his farmstead. We wish you to clear him of your charge, for God Almighty's sake, and release him from your demands in the business of the farmstead, do not restrict him in anything on account of it." The archbishop remained silent, answering after a while, he then said: "I relinquish the claim on the said Julian de Casachica in the business of the farmstead for the sake of Almighty God, on the condition that he cultivates it and should he put it up for sale he shall not sell it but to whom will keep to the laws (duties) of Canales." Then after a moment he said in these words: "Equally let him sell it to whom he pleases I swear by God Almighty I shall compel the buyer to it and he shall keep the laws of Canales because that farmstead is within the boundaries of Canales."

Following the feature analysis we have used so far, the texts may be defined as having:

1. VSO word order, with a greater flexibility in No. 993:

(a) tumma qāla
 [I V]

(b) 'anna 'ahl qanālaš yafza'ū min-ka
 [I N(S) V I N]

(c) 'anā qad ḥalalt ṭalabī
 N(S) I V N(O)

2. triliteral derivations:

No.8: madḡal dāḡl; tāriḡ mu'arraḡ, ṭimār ṭamarāt

No.993: taṭlub, ṭalab; yabī', mubtā', bayi'

3. Case ending morphs.

There is no evidence for or against their presence in No.8.

Let us note fariḡayn (dual) and the hypercorrected form

miṭqāl'a instead of miṭāqīl.

4. Articles: In No.8 one is not sure why two cardinal points are preceded by the article and the other two not.

5. Particles. In No.8 kāwyat ^Can is unexpected in classical usage but tolerated here.

There are a great number of particles in the later account:

min-ka li-sabab mā taṭlub bi-h li yulyān min 'amr qaryat-h

These particles are more frequent and used where enclitics might be expected in Classical Arabic. They have expanded their domain in this variety.

Expansion.

V → ∅ deleted clauses are common to both quotations. No.8:

l-munyat llatī bi manzal muškat
N [N V→∅ I N]

wa..fa coordination occurs in No.993 but not in No.8.

V'an is the usual pattern of subordination.

The average number of embedded clauses is 1 to 2 in No.8

and 1 in No.993.

Relativization is more frequent than in other texts we have studied for the period.

No.8: l-munyat llatī bi manzal muškat
N [N V→∅ I N]

No. 993: li-sabab mā taṭlub bi-h
N [N V I N]

Negation is expressed by lā V.

No.8: wa lā i^C tamār
[I I V]

Romance loans are confined to the borrowing of lexical items among which we notice the Christian date.

اشترى دمنقة بن يحيى من سفيان بن ابي البقي ومفرج بن خير جميع حصصهما من المنية التي بمنزل مشكة من نكر مدينة كليكلا منهاها الله وذلك الثلث من جميع هذه المنية التي تعرف في عهد الاسلام لاي مسلمين مع ثلث البير وثلث تمار؟ القباوين على البحيرة وثلث الصهرج مع والمدخل والمخرج الى البير والصهرج وحد هذا الثلث المذكور في الشرف كرم لابي اسحق القمراي مع القس ابن فرحون وفي الغرب حصه لورثة يحيى بن سرير رحمه الله وفي القبلة فذات حبس على شنت فليج وفي الجوف الكريق الداخل الى القريش بعداد مبلغة من الذهب المراكبة اسلوة عشر مثقالا هي اول شهر شنتبر عام خمسين ومايه والى تاريخ الحفر ان ثلث المنية المذكورة فوق هذا ان ثلثي ارضها ارض بيضا خاوية عن جميع الثمرات والكرم والغراسات وجميع اثلث المذكور بغير تحليق ولا اعمار

عمر بن سعيد شاهد في وخلف ابن عمر كذلك في وسلامة بن مقيال شاهد في وعبد الله بن عثمان في وعبد بن وليد في ورمات ابن عامر في وخير بن مورث وعبد العزيز بن ابي الحسن بن ابي رجال في ويعيش بن فليش في وعبد الملك بن بهلول في وبهلول بن وكتب عنهم بامرهم في وعبد الله بن فرسان وكتب عنه في وعبد الرحمن بن عبد الرحمن شاهد في وعثمان بن عثمان شاهد وكتب عنه شهدوا الشهود على بعد اقرار القريش في التاريخ الموضح ان لنا الله

Doc. 8

قال له بعض محقق قنالف ماولة ان اهل قنالف يزعوا منك لسبب ما تكتب به ليليان د قاشة جيفة من امر قرية ولكم لرغبوك لوجه الله العكيب ان تحل كلبك عنه من امر تلك القرية ولا تحجر عليه شي فيها فسكت المكراب المذكور عن جواب برهة ثم قال ان قد حلت كلبى ليليان د قاشة جيفة المذكور في تلك القرية لوجه الله العكيب وعلى شرك ان يعمرها وان شا بيعها فلا يبيعها الا ممن يلتزم لوازم قنالف ثم بعد حيل من قولك ذلك قال ايضا ويبيعها ممن يشا لاني بيمن الله تعالى اجعل للمبتاع اياها منه ان يلتزم لوازم قنالف لسبب ما تلك القرية من تخم قنالف

Doc. 993

اجد لموكلة مالكا لدار كانت لجد موكلى بلاى بلاشكس بحومة كنيسة شنت نقولاش امام برج الرفاعة على باب معاوية واريد ان تركه لموكلى فجاوبه دوف فرننده المذكور قايل موكلى ابتاع تلك الدار من دوف جوان بن باكرة د قاشته ودوف جوان المذكور ابتاع تلك الدار من دوف دمنقة يوان بن يوان بلايس بك بلاية بلاشكس وملك كل واحد منهم تلك الدار ويملك موكلى باشاعة ولذلك لا اريد مجاوبتك فراحبه دمنقة بلايس المذكور قايل يوان بلايس المذكور توفي ولم ترك ابنا؟ وجا كلب اخته بارثة ولذلك اريد ان ترك موكلك تلك الدار فراحبه دوف فرننده المذكور وقال له قد قلت لك ما قلت ولا اريد مجاوبتك

Doc. 954

Four texts shall represent Toledo and its region for the period under study (post-1212). Three of them illustrate direct speech, the other refers to the sale of a house and is one of the very few documents of this collection to be accompanied by a Romance gloss.

No. 954, dated 1216. Excerpt from a court case over some property in dispute.

'aǧid li-muwakkal-h mālikan li-dār kānat li- ǧadd
 muwakkalī balāyu balāš-kus bi-ḥawmat kanīsat šant
niqūlāš 'amāma burǧ r-rifā'at 'alā bāb mu'āwīyah wa'urīd
 'an tarak -h li-muwakkalī fa-ǧāwaba-h dūn farnanduh
 l-maḍkūr qāyilan muwakkalī 'ibtā'a tilka d-dār min dūn
ǧuwān bni bāṭruh da qāštruh wa-dūn ǧuwān l-maḍkūr
 'ibtā'a tilka d-dār min dūn duminquh yuwān bn yuwān balāīs
 bna balāyuh balāškus wa-malaka kull wāḥid min-hum tilka
 d-dār wa-yamlik muwakkalī bi-'iṣā'at wa li-dālika
 lā 'urīd muǧāwbāt=k fa-rāḥaba-h duminquh balāīs
 l-maḍkūr qāyilan
yuwān balāīs l-maḍkūr tuwuffiya wa lam tarak 'ibnā
 ?waǧāṭn? (1) 'ukt=h bi-'irt-h wa-li-dālika 'urīd 'an
 tarak muwakkal=k tilka d-dār farāḥaba-h dūn farnanduh
 l-maḍkūr wa qāla la-h
 qad qult la-k mā qult wa-lā 'urīd muǧāwbāt=k

Translation

I find with your client that he has in his possession the house (that) was my client forefather's Pelayo Velasco, in the neighbourhood of the church of Saint Nicholas, in front of the high tower over the Mu^cāwīya gate.

- 1 This strange spelling can only be explained by the loss of case and feminine morphs.

I want (your client) to leave it to my client and go. The above-mentioned Don Fernando answered him saying: My client bought this house from Don Juan, son of Pedro de Castro, and the said Don Juan bought this house from Don Domingo Juan, son of Juan Pelaez, son of Pelayo Velasco. Each and every one of them acquired this house and made it over to my client as it is common knowledge and for that reason I do not want to comply with you.

Domingo Pelaez said: The above-mentioned Juan Pelaez died without leaving a son and it went...? to a sister of his, in the estate, and for that reason I want your client to leave that house.

Don Fernando said to him: I have said what I (have) said and I do not wish to comply.

No. 1027, dated 1232 - Last Will

allaḏī yašhid bi-h dūn lawrent min dūš barīūs s-sākin
 bi-ḥawmat kanīsat šant martīn wa-zawġ=h dūnat
mariyat duminquš wa-dūnat mariyat martīn llatī kānat
 zawġan (1) li-dūn martīn da liyūn wa-dālika 'an-hum
 ḥaḍarū dāt yawm min šaḥar yūlyuh n-nāġiz min tārīk
 hāḍā l-kitāb l-'agrāb la-h bi-qar-yat z-zaytūnat wa-
 daḵilū bi-hā li-ziyārat dūnat mariyat duminquh llatī
 kānat zawġan li-dūn duminquh yāquh wa-waġadū-hā wa-hiya (2)
 ... l-ġism ṭabitat l-'aql wa-d-dihn fa-qāla la-hā bi-
 ḥaḍrat-h=m zawġ-hā l-maḍkūr dūnat mariyat duminquh
 'imr mā tarīd min māl=k 'an rūḥ=k ḥayṭumā turīd wa-'aš
 mā tarīd tāmur 'amr=h wa 'in lam yakmul māl=k yakmul-h
 māl-ī fa-qālat dūnat mariyat duminquh l-maḍkūrat muš-hidat
 'alā nafs=hā fī ḥāl 'ayḍan allaḏī ma'-ī ma'a-k kasabta-h
 'amur 'alān 'anā 'idā-tuwufīt 'an tu'tī min māl-ī 'an
 rūḥ-ī 'itnay 'ašar mitqāl'a 'an myšāt 'anāl (3) ḥayṭumā

- 1 This strange spelling can only be explained by the loss of case and feminine morphs.
- 2 G.P. = faint, unrecognizable, or tear.
- 3 HJB: Ambiguous between Arabic "I give" or Romance "yearly".

الذى يشهد به دول لوانش من دول بربوت الساكن بحومة كنيسة شنت مرتين وزوجة دونه مريه
دمنقة ودونه مريه مرتين التى كانت زوجا لدول مرتين د لبوت وذلك انهم حضروا ذات يوم من شهر
يوليه الناجز من تاريخ هذا الكتاب الاقرب له بقره الرسوبه ودخلوا بها لزيارة دونه مريه دمنقة التى كانت
زوجا لدول دمنقة يافه ووجدوها وهى الجسد نازله العك والذهب فعال لها بحديثهم زوجها المذكور
دونه مريه دمنقة امر ما تريد من مالك عن روحك حسما تريد واس ما تريد نامر امره واب له يكمل مالك
يكمله مالى فعال دونه مريه دمنقة المذكورة مسنده على نفسها فى حال ايها الذى معى معك كسبه
امر الان انا اذا توفيت ان تعك من مالى عن روحى ادنى عشر مبالا عن ميسات اناك حينما كسر
لك ولعلمى مقال ولبنات القاعدة شنة مريه دمنقة وجمع ما ينهى من مالى من قليل وكثير
يكول لك صدقة منى به عليك لا يعترضك فيه معرب لك كسبه وانا افهم ارب ارب قرايى من مالى
بخمسة اذا ومدالية تعكها ولا يعترضك احد فى وهذا ما سمعوا به وفيدت شهادتهم (الخ)
اذ فسر عليهم بلسان اعترفوا بغيرهم وذلك فى العسر الاول من شهر اعشت سنة سبعين ومائتين
والف للحضر

وفى شهادتهم زائدا انهم سمعوا من دونه مريه دمنقة المذكورة بغير لوانش الذى هو
بواب لدير شنت قلمت مما نسب اليه من قبل اسما وال امامهم انا اعرفه وبالجميع الاشهاد فى
التاريخ المورخ

Fernandus Micales, testis. * Ego Lupus Gundisalvus, testis. * Ego Bartolomeus,
de San Ciment, testis.

Doc.1027

اشترى دول يوانش الفون وزوجة دونه مريه ارمى دول دمنقة غنحلبس بن القايد دول
غنحالبس بسانت بن بلج سوية بينهما ومن مالهما باعترافهما من دونه مريه الفونش بنت دول الفونش
لبس بن دول لب ذى قلعة رباح وزوجا هى للكاين دول بيكره بسانت اكرمهم الله جميع [الرابع]
الواحد من الدار المحدودة بعد هذا ومن اخيهما دول اشتاب البايىم للرابع الثانى من الدار المحدودة
بعد هذا ومن مريه الفونش ومن اخيهما دول اشتاب المذكور البايىم عن اختهما دونه مراكشة الساكنة
فى مجريك للرابع الثالث من الدار المذكورة المحدودة بعد هذا ومن دول جامس بن دول
..... ذى قشنة؟ نشر وهو ساكن فى اشيلية ملقد باب مقارنة ومن كنت شنت
جيل البايىم عن اخ الاخوة المذكورة للرابع من الدار المحدودة بعد هذا وباعوا
لثلاثهم بما فسر من دول يوانش ومن زوجة دونه مريه المذكورين جميع الدار التى الموصوفة المذكورة
..... بربوت الافرنج [بكليلة] حرسها الله وهى ملاصقة بدار لمريه دمنقة زوج هى لدول جامس
وبمشون للقاعدة شنة مريه وبالكريف المايك للقاعدة المذكورة بابها شارع فيه والمبيع الموصوف باعوا
البايىم المذكورين من المبتاعين المذكورين لهذا من ثمنه عقد الذى المترتب لدول مرتين لبس عن
البايىم المذكورين قبل ابويهم دول الفونش لبس وزوجة دونه بنت دول غليام ذى جبرلا
الذى يسكنهم به مرتين لبس المذكور امام شهاد آخر هذا الكتاب رسمة مائة مقال انصاف فيه
يوم عيد المصباح الاقرب لتاريخه وتاريخه فى ثالث عشر نونبر عام ثمانين ومائتين والف
للحضر ولهذا ايضا بتمنا لدول اشتاب المذكور من الابسر حيث كان ماسور فى رندة دفع الله
فيما من المسلمين . بتمن مبلغا وعدده مائة مقال واحد فونشية صروفا وستون مقالا ودفع
البايىم عقد واحد من اصل المبيع الموصوف وهو شرا دول غليام د جنهارة المعروف بالمشرف
مغسة ولزوجة دونه جليام من دول جليام ومن زوجة دونه غشبال بنت بيكره غليام وتاريخه فى العشر
الوسك من شهر يوليه سنة تسع وستين ومائتين والف وهو ملاك من فى ثلاثة مواضع وصار
العقد عند (الخ) فى رابع وعشرين اعشت عام اربعة وثلاثمائة والف للحضر وحضر دونه
قكلمنة اخت الاخوة المذكورين فوقع وامضت (الخ).

فرندة بن دمنقة بن فرندة * والفونش بن دمنقة بن يوانش ودريقة بن بندقت
بن دمنقة بن عبد العزيز

zahr la-ka wa li-mu^callim-ī mitqāl wa li-bunyān
 l-qā^cidat śantat (1) mariyat (1) mitqālayn wa ġamī^c mā
 yantahī min māl-ī min qalīl wa-kaṭīr yakūn la-k ṣadaqāt
 min-ī bi-h ^calay-k lā ya^ctariḍ-ka fī-h mu^ctariḍ li-anna-k
 kasabta-h wa-^canā ^caqṭa^c ^cirt ^caqrab qarābat-ī min
 māl-ī bi-kamsat ^cidā wa-madāliyat tu^ctī-hā wa-lā
 ya^ctariḍ-ka ^caḥd.

wa-hāḍā mā yašhadū bi-h wa quyidat ^cśahādat-hum [^cilk]
^cid fusirat ^calay-hum bi-lisān ^ca^ctarafū bi-fahm=humā
 wa-ḍālika fī l-^cuśra l-^cawwal min śahar āgušt sanat
 sab^cīn wa-mā-yatīn wa ^calf li-ṣ-ṣafar.

wa-fī ^cśahādat-h=m zāydan ^cannā-hum sami^cū min dūnat
 [I I N V→Ø N [I N V I
mariyat duminquh l-maḍkūrat taḡfir li-farnand alladī
 N [V N N
 huwa bawwāb li-day-r śant gilimant mimmā nusiba ilay-h
 N V→Ø N I N I [N V I N
 min qatl ^cibn=hā qālat ^camāma-hum ^canā ^caḡfir-hu wa
 I N N]]]] [V I N] [N V N] [I V→Ø
 bi l-ġamī^c l-^cāšhād fī t-tārīk l-mu ^carrik.]
fernandus micales testis. ego lupus gundisalvus testis.
ego bartolomeus de san climent testis.

Translation

(the following) who bear witness to it Don Lorenzo from Dos Barrios, domiciled in the neighbourhood of Saint Martin's Church and his wife Doña María Domingo and Doña María Martín who had been the wife of Don Martín de León and in this matter they (state) that they were present that day of last July closest to the date of this deed, in the village of Aceituna. They went in to see Doña María Domingo who had been the wife of Don Domingo Yago and they found her, her body immobilized, conscious and (sound of) mind and so in their presence, her above-mentioned husband said to her: "Doña María Domingo, order what you wish (done) with your possessions, for (the good) of your soul wherever and however you wish to settle the matter. If it cannot be achieved with your wealth, it will be done with mine." Then the same Doña Maria said immediately after:

1 HJB: -t appears to be an instance of hypercorrection by false analogy to-at: feminine morph marker.

"That which is mine is yours, you have earned it. I request that, when I reach my time, you give of my possessions, 12 mizcals for the benefit of my soul towards saying (a yearly?) mass, (I give?) whenever it seems (good) to you 1 mizcal to my teacher and 2 for the building of the cathedral of Santa María and the rest of my property to be settled, be it little or much. It is yours as a gift from me. Let no contender raise an objection against it, since you have earned it. I deprive my nearest relation from inheriting by granting 5 (only) (mizcals ?) in payment and the medallion you will give and let none object."

This is what they bear witness to and the record of their statement (etc.).

It was then explained to them in the language they declared they understood. This took place in the first ten days of the month of August in the year 1270 (brass era)-

In the statement (there is) furthermore that they heard from the same doña María Domingo that she forgave Fernando, the gatekeeper of the convent of Saint Clement in what linked him with the death of her son. She said to them: "I forgive him." to all the witnesses on this specific date.

FERNANDO MICALES, WITNESS. I, LOPE GUNDISALVO, WITNESS I, BARTOLOME OF SAN CLEMENTE, WITNESS.

No. 628, dated 1266. Sale of a house in the city of Toledo followed by a Romance statement by the previous owner domiciled in Madrid.

'iṣṭarā dūn yuwānaš al-fūn (1) wa-zaw-ğ-h dūnat
mariyat ... (2) armal (3) dūn diyaguh gunṣalbas bnu
 l-qāyid dūn gunṣālbū bisānt bnu balğ sawiyyatan
 bayna-humā wa-min māl-humā bi- 'itirāf-h mā min
dūnat mariyat al-fūnš bint dūn al-fūnš lubas
 bnu dūn lub dī gal'at rabāh wa-zawğan hiya li-
 l-kātib dūn bīṭruh bisānt 'akrama-humā allāh. ġamī'
 [ar-rub'] l-wāḥid min d-dār l-maḥdūdat ba'd
 hādā wa-min akī-hā dūn aštāban l-bāyi' li-r-rub'
 t-tānī min d-dār l-maḥdūdat ba'd hādā wa-min mariyat

- 1 sic.
- 2 wear or tear.
- 3 -at: fem. morph → Ø.

al-funš wa-min 'aḳī-hā dūn 'aštāban l-maḍkūr l-bāyi' ayn
 'an 'ukt-h=mā dūnat markāšat s-sākinat fī maḡrīt
 li-r-rub' t-tālat min d-dār l-maḍkūrat l-maḥdūdat
 ba'd hādā wa-min dūn ḡāmas ... bnu dūn ... ḡī
qaštruh ? tašar ? (1) wa-huwa sākin fī 'išbiliyat
 m n q d (2) bāb maḡāranat wa-min ... kinnat šant ḡīl
 l-bāyi' 'an__'aḳ l-'ikwat l-maḍkūrat li-r-rub' r-rābi'
 min d-dār l-maḥdūdat ba'd hādā wa bā'ū taltat-hum
 bi-hā fusira min dūn yuwānaš wa-min zawḡ-h
dūnat mariyat l-maḍkūrayn ḡamī' d-dār llatī
 l-mawṣūfat l-maḍkūrat ... bi-riḇaḍ l-faraḡ [bi-
 tulaytulāt] ḡarasa-hā allāhu wa-hiya mulaṣaḡat bi-dār
 li- mariyat duminquh zawḡ hiya li-dūn ḡāmaš wa-bi-
mašūn (3) li-l-qā'idat šantah mariyat wa bi-t-tarīḡ
 l-hāyl (4) li-l ḡalṣadat l-maḍkūrat bāb-hā šāri' fī-h
 wa l- mabī' l-mawṣūf bā'ū-h l-bāyi'ūn l-maḍkūrūn min
 l-mubtā' ayn l-maḍkūrayn li-fidā min tamman-h 'aḡd
 llaḍī l-mutarattab li-dūn martīn lubas 'am
 l-bāyi' ayn l-maḍkūrayn ḡabla 'abaway-h=m dūn al-fūnš
lubas wa-zawḡ-h dūnat ... bint dūn ḡuliyām ḡī
ḡabarat llaḍī yāssazḡir (5) bi-h martīn lubas l-maḍkūr
 'amām šuhadā 'aḳir hādā l-kitāb rasm-h mā-yat
 miṭḡāl .. 'inšāf fī-h yawm 'īd l-miṣbāḡ ... l'aḡrab
 li-tārīḡ-h wa tārīḡ-h fī tālat 'ašar nuwanbr 'ām

1 GP: Castrotexar?

2 HJB: sic, perhaps manfaḍ: "gate".

3 Ambiguous between Arabic or Romande readings: Ar. "store-house", R: Masio, Meson "wine cellar, inn".

4 HJB: hā'il: large, main.

5 HJB: probably x measure, /t/ assimilated.

tamānīn wa-mā-yatayn wa 'alf li-ṣ-ṣafar wa li-fidā
 'ayḍan bi-tamman-h li-dūn 'aštāban l-maḍkūr min
 'allā yasir haytu kāna ma'sūr fī rundat dafa'a allāhu
 fī-hā mina l-muslimīn bi-tamman mablag-h wa 'adad-h
 mā-yat mitqāl wāḥid fūnšiyat (1) ṣurūfan wa sittūn
 mitqāl 'a wa-dafa'a l-bāyi'ayn... 'aqd wāḥid min 'aṣl
 l-mabī' l-mawsūf wa-huwa ṣirā dūn ḡuliyām da
 ḡanbārah l-ma'rūf bi-l-muṣrif m_ḡ_s_h (2) wa-li-
 zawḡ-h dūnat ḡulyān min dūn ḡulyān wa-min
 zawḡ-h dūnat ḡuṣbālat bint blṭrūḡ ḡuliyām wa-
 tārikū=h fī l-'aṣar l-'awṣt min ṣahar yūliyuḡ sanat
 tis'a wa-sittīn wa-mā-yatīn wa 'alf wa-huwa matā-
 kayl? min ... fī tilitat mawāḍi' wa-ṣāra l-'ḡ d (3)
 'inda ('ilk) (4) fī rāb' wa 'aṣrīn 'aḡuṣt 'ām 'arb'at
 wa-tālt-mā-yat wa-'alf li-ṣ-ṣafar wa-ḥaḍarat...dūnat
 qaṭalīnat (5) 'ukt l-'ikwat l-maḍkūrūn fawq-h wa 'imḍat
 ('ilk)
 farnanduh bnu duminquh bnu farnanduh ... ()

The gloss in Romance:

Conoscida cosa ... comoyo, Marquesa Alfonso, fija de
 don Alfonso Lopez, fijo de don Lope de Calatrava ...
 este mio signo +.

- 1 This loan has been borrowed and adopted into Arabic as F N S.
- 2 GP: "migosu"?
- 3 HJB: we read: l- 'qd.
- 4 GP: insertion by editor preceding legal formulae.
- 5 HJB: -t as hypercorrection appears systematically on feminine loans. It could be a spelling convention, just as -h appears to end masculine loans ending in a vowel.

Translation:

Don Juan Alfonso and his wife doña María ... the widow of don Diego Gonzálbez, the son of the governor don Gonzalbo Vicente, son of Balg, bought in equal shares and each accepting to contribute half the money, from Doña María Alfonso, the daughter of don Alfonso López, son of Don Lope of Calatrava, and wife of the clerk don Pedro Vicente - May God honour both! - the first fourth share of the house delimited below and from her brother Don Esteban the seller, the second fourth share of the house delimited below and from María Alfonso and her brother the same don Esteban, both sellers on behalf of their sister doña Marquesa, domiciled in Madrid, the third fourth share of the house delimited below and from Don James ... the son of don ... de Castro-texar and he dwells in Seville (near?) the Gate of the Macarena and the shelter of Saint Gilles, the seller on behalf of the brother of the above-mentioned brothers, the last fourth share of the house delimited below and they sold (it) all three of them as explained to Don Juan and Doña María, his wife, the aforementioned partners, the whole house above characterized in the French quarter [of Toledo] May God protect it! adjoining the house belonging to María Domingo, wife of Don James and the store, property of the cathedral of Santa María and the main street to the calzada (highway) described with the gate leading off from it. Concerning the above-mentioned transaction, the sellers sold (the property) to the buyers to meet a debt which was incurred with Don Martin López, the uncle of the sellers, by their father Don Alfonso López and his wife Doña ... the daughter of Don Guillem de Chebra ? to whom the document was presented by Martin López before the witnesses named at the bottom of it and in which document (the debt) is recorded as of 100 mizcals to be redeemed by Candlemas following the date of the 13th November 1280 (brass era) for the whole payment for the same Don Esteban that he might no longer be held - he was a captive in Ronda - May God cast out the Moslems! - The price amounts to 101 Alfonsi mizcals in mint condition and 60 mizcals handed over by the two buyers ... The deed and 1 original copy of the sale described the sale was ?

Don Guillem de Chembra, known as the overseer and to his wife Doña Juliana, by Don Julian and his wife Dona Gosabela, the daughter of Pedro Guillem in the middle ten days of July of the year 1269. It was made in 3 instalments and settled finally on the 24th of August of the year 1304 (Brass era) in the presence of Doña Catalina the sister of the above-mentioned brothers and the matter was settled.

Fernando, son of Domingo, son of Fernando...

Romance text:

It is well known ... that I, Marquesa Alfonso, daughter of Don Alfonso López, the son of Don Lope of Calatrava... this, my sign +.

No. 1032, dated 1275. Change of will, witnesses' account.

alladī tašhad bi-h dūnat mariyat zawġan kānat
 li-duminquh bītrus dī n-nafārī wa-nuwarat-hā
dūnat mariyat zawġat 'ibn- hā dun šalbatūr qawlan min-hā
 li-l-ḥaqq wa-dālika 'an dūnat lūbat llatī kānat zawġan
 li-dūn yuliyān bītrus dī bargāš šayya'at 'an-hā wa-'an
 'ibn-hā dūn šalbatūr l-maḍkūr li-dār-h=mā tātī yawm
 min yawm šant niqūlāš n-nāgiz l-'aqrab wa-nahaḍat
dūnat mariyat l-maḍkūrat li-dār dūnat lūbat l-maḍkūrat
 wa-qālat la-hā dūnat mariyat l-maḍkūrat 'ayy šay
 turīd-nī qālat la-hā dūnat lūbat l-maḍkūrat 'ayy huwa
 'ibn-ka dūn šalbatūr qālat la-hā dūnat mariyat bi-l-karmāt
 huwa qālat la-hā ḥīnayd dūnat lūbat yanhaḍ 'an 'anfiliyāṭat
nuwarat^{ka} wa y n-d w? (1) 'an nuwarat-hā dūnat mariyat zawġat
 'ibn-hā l-maḍkūr wa 'aqbalat la-hā wa-qālat la-hā ḥīnayd
dūnat lūbat l-maḍkūrat dūnat mariyat wa-nuwarat-ka
 li-'albaruh bītrus 'ibnī 'amarlu la-h kaṭīran fī waṣiyyatī
 wa-'anā nazūl la-h kull- mā 'amart la-h fī waṣiyyatī
 ḥāšā l-karmāt wa-l-qurrāl llaḍī dālika kull -h kāna
 li-'ibn sulaymān wa-nāmur 'an yuqsima 'albaruh bītrus ma'a
 'akwat šar'ān siwan bayna-hum wa kānat ḥīnayd dūnat
lūbat l-maḍkūrat multazimat l-firāš wa-l-maraḍ llaḍī
 min-h tuwuffīt bala ṣaḥīḥat fī 'aql-hā wa-dihn-hā
 wa-ḥalafatā š-šāhidatān l-maḍkūratān bi-smi allāhi
 l-'azīmi 'an dālika kull-h huwa ḥaqqan dūn šakk
 'inda-humā fī-h fī talt 'ašar fabarīr 'ām taltat 'ašar
 wa-talt mā-yat wa 'alf li-š-šafar
farnanduh bnu šarband bnu faliz bnu maḥgūn...

TOLEDO. González Palencia (1931).

الذى تشهد به دونة مريّة زوجا كانت لدمنقة بيكرس دى النفاى ونورتهما دونة مريّة زوجة ابنها دون
شاكور قول ماها للحق وذلك ان دونة لمة التي كانت زوها لدون بليان بيكرس دى برغش شيعت عنهما
وعن ابنها دون شليكور المذكور لدارهما ثانى يوم من يوم شنت نقولاش الناجز الاقرب ونهضت دونة
مريّة المذكورة لدار دونة لوبة المذكورة وقالت لها دونة مريّة المذكورة اى شى تريدنى قالت لها دونة
لوبة المذكورة اى هو ابنك دون شليكور قالت لها دونة مريّة بالكلمات هو وقالت لها حينئذ دونة لوبة
ينهت عن انقلابك نورتك؟ وينضوان عن نورتهما دونة مريّة زوجة ابنها المذكور واقبلت لها وقالت لها حينئذ
دونة لوبة المذكورة دونة مريّة ونورتك لالبره بيكرس ابنى امرت له كثير فى وصيتى وانا نزول له كلما امرت
له فى وصيتى داشى الكرمات والقوال الذى ذلك كله كان لابن سليمان ونامر ان يقسم البره بيكرس مع
اخوته شرعا سوى بينهم وكانت حينئذ دونة لوبة المذكورة ملتزمة الفراش والمرث الذى منه توفيت بل
صحيحة فى عقلها وذهنها وحلفنا الشاهدات المذكورات باسم الله العظيم ان ذلك كله هو حق دون
شك عندهما فيه فى ثالث عشر فبراير عام ثلثة عشر وثلثمائة والف للصحف

فرندة بن شريند بن فلير بن محجوب : وجوان بن دمنقة بن كرشتوبل بن لب : دمنقة بن
جوان بن ميقاتيل شوارس

Doc. 1032

Translation

to which (the following) bear witness:

Doña María wife of Domingo Petrez, of Alnefarí, and her daughter-in-law Doña María, the wife of her son, Don Salvador, that they spoke the truth and this was that - Doña Loba who had been the wife of Don Julian Pétrez de Bargas sent for her and her son, the same Don Salvador, at their home, on the second day of the feast of Saint Nicholas last.

Doña María went to Doña Loba's house and asked her: "What do you want of me?" Doña Loba said: "What of your son Don Salvador?" Doña María answered: "He is in the vineyards". Then Doña Loba (said) "Then send for? your god-daughter, the wife of your son". She sent for? Doña María, the wife of her above-mentioned son and she went to her. Then Doña Loba said to them both: "Doña María and (you) daughter-in-law, to Alvaro Pérez, my son, I had left many things in my will; I withdraw everything I had made over in the will, except the vineyards and the farmyard which belonged to all of it, to Ibn Sulayman and I order Alvaro Pédrez to divide (the rest) into equal valid shares with his brothers." Doña Loba at that time was confined to bed and sick with the illness from which she would die, but sane of mind, in full possession of her faculties. The two witnesses swore by God Almighty that this was the truth without any misgivings on their behalf, on the 13th day of February of year 1313 (Brass era). Fernando Ibn Servando Ibn Felix Ibn Machùn...

The four texts selected as representative of Toledo span the thirteenth century, their characteristics are condensed in table form for comparison after the following detailed feature analysis. As previously, the numbers that precede the illustrations refer to the features in their order of appearance in the tables, e.g. 1 refers to word order.

954, dated 1216. These features are present in the strings below:

1. With respect to the predicted word order underlying up to now all considered varieties of Spanish Arabic:

[(I) V (I) ... (N)]

we notice an apparently free order where S V O alternates with the expected V S O:

wa-dūn ḡuwān l-maḡkūr 'ibtā š tilka d-dār
 [I N N V N]

2. mālikan, yamlik, malaka; qāyilan, 'aqult, qāla.

3. The text is opaque as to case ending morphs.

5. The particle has expanded its domain with respect to classical usage as may be seen in

'aḡid li-muwakkal -h mālikan li-dār
 [V I N I N]

wa 'urīd 'an tarak -h li-muwakkalī
 [I V [I V I N]]

6. V deletion

'aḡid li-muwakkal-h mālikan li-dār
 V I N [V→∅ N I N]

7. wa 'urīd 'an tarak... fa-rāhaba-h
 [I V [I V]][I V]

8. see 5.

13. la-k mā qult. There is no head N antecedent.
 I [N V ...]

17. lā 'urīd
 I(neg)V

18. lam tar-k 'ibnā
 I(neg) V N

19. Romance borrowings are limited to proper names.

1027, dated 1232.

1. Mainly V S O with a few instances of S V O:

'anā aḡfir-hu
 [N V N]

2. yašhid šahādat 'ashād (ŠHD); 'imr, tāmur, 'āmur ('MR)

3. We argued in note 2 above for the loss of case ending morphs.

6. farnand llaḡī huwa bawwāb
 N [N V→∅ N N ...]

7. wa-hum ... fa-qāla la-hā

8. llaḡī yašhid ... 'an-hum ḡaḡarū
 [V [I N V ...]

13. ǧamī' mā yantahī min māl-ī
N [N V I N ...]
14. See 6.
15. duḥat mariyat martīn llatī kānat zawǧan li-dūn martīn ...
N [N V N I N]
17. lā ya'tarīd-ka fī-h mu'tarīd
I(neg) V N I N N
19. Borrowing is spreading to lexical item: madāliyat "medalla".
'aš in:wa'aš mā tarīd is possibly derived from 'ayyu šay
common in Maghrib dialects.

628, dated 1266.

1. V S O: wa bā'ū taltat-hum bi-hā
[I V N I N...]
2. bāyi'ayn, bā'ū, mabī', mubtā'ayn ; yasir, ma'sūr
3. Total loss of case morphs: dūnat Mariyat armal dūn diyaquh
6. wa zawǧan hiya li-l-kātib...
[I V→∅ N N I N ...]
14. ǧuliyām llaḍī yasazhir bi-h martīn
N [N V I N N ...]
15. d-dār llatī l-mawṣūfat l-maḍkūrat
N [N V→∅ N N ...]
19. Romance loans are limited to proper names, but note the
use of Romance particle dī, instead of min with the Arabic
place name: qal'at rabāḥ : dūn lūb dī qal'at rabāḥ.

This text in contrast with the other three contains no
direct speech, curiously it is also much poorer in features.
This fact should be borne in mind, whenever texts of a similar
style have been used for lack of a more suitable alternative.

1032, dated 1275.

1. Still V S O, but there is evidence that this order is breaking up. We have inversions:

'anā nazūl la-h kull
[N V I N]

V components occur at some distance from the beginning of the clause, e.g. šayya^cat, 'amart. Finally the predicted order is altered in nested clauses, where one expects per universals

(1) the original order to last longest:

l-qurrāl llaḏī ḏālika kull-h kāna li-'ibn sulaymān
[N N N V I N ...]

2. tašhad ~ šāhidatān. Morphemic derivations from triliteral roots are almost nil. Notice the na (V) form in nāmur and nazūl, in the first person of the imperfective, common to Maghrib varieties.

5. yanhaḏ 'an is unexpected in this context.

6. bi-l-karmāt huwa
[I N V→Ø N]

8. wa nāmur 'an yuqsima 'albaruh ... ma^ca akwat
[I V [I V N I N ...]

13. kulla mā 'amart la-h fī waṣiyyatī
N [N V I I N]

14. See 1.

15. dūnat lūbat llatī kānat zawḡan li-dūn yuliyān
N [N V N I N]

19. We find the same particle ḏī observed in document 628, in front of an Arabic place name: bīṭrus ḏī n-nafārī.

Apart from the usual Romance proper names, in this text lexical borrowing extends to kinship terms: e.g. nuwarat "nuera" daughter-in-law, and probably nfiliyāṭat "god-daughter".

1 Harris ed. (1977).

DIACHRONIC TABLE OF FEATURES FOR THE TOLEDO CORPUS

Features	dated:	docs 8	993	954	1027	628	1032
		1112	1173	1216	1232	1266	1275
1. Word Order VSO	+	+	+(flexible)	+(flexible)	+	+(flexible)	breaking up
. Morphemic alternations							
2. Derived forms RRR	+	+	+	+	+	+	very few
3. Case ending morphs	?	?	?	not in text	-	-	-
4. Articles deviant							
from cl. usage	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
5. Particles expand							
their domain	?	+	+	+	-	-	?
6. V --> Ø	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. wa fa	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
. Subordination							
8. V 'an	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. V li V	not in text	not in text	not in text	not in text	not in text	not in text	not in text
10. V 'alā 'an	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
11. law V	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
12. kamā V	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
. Relativization							
13. mā V	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
14. llaḍī V	-	-	-	not in text	+	+	+
15. llaṭī V	+	-	-	"	+	+	+
. Average No. of nested clauses	1-2	1	1	1	2 to 3	3	1 to 2
. Negation							
16. mā V	-	-	-	-	-	not in text	-
17. lā V	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
18. lam V	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
19. Romance borrowing	+	+	+	+	a few	+	+
TOTAL	8	9	10	10	10	6	7
		Direct Speech	Direct Speech	Direct Speech	Direct Speech	Direct Speech	Direct Speech

Change

Comparing documents 8 and 628, deeds of a similar nature, the first early C12 and the latter mid-C13, we notice a decrease in the number of present features, a trend which is at least not contradicted if we turn to 993 and 1032. These two texts contain passages in direct speech and are located at either extreme of the available time span. More significantly, 628 shows the definite loss of case ending morphs. The juxtaposition of 993 and 1032 shows that morphemic alternations are following suit. What was a degree of flexibility in the sequential order of components in the spoken language of the participants, recorded in 993, has gone, by 1275, beyond the point of stylistic variety: awareness of the old word order is disappearing, the alternative is no longer retrievable. In the later document Romance borrowing has gained further semantic ground, as explained above.

Contrasting the two periods before and after 1212, one notices an increase in the use of alternative relative patterns contrasting with the former use of *mā V*.

CROSS DIALECTAL TABLE OF FEATURES FROM C11 to C12

Features	Christendom		Al-Andalus
	Saragossa doc.1 dated: 1117	Toledo 8 1112	King 'Abd Allāh c. 1096
1. Word Order VSO	+	+	+
. Morphemic alternations	very few		
2. Derived forms RRR	+	+	+
3. Case ending morphs	?	?	+
4. Articles	-	+	-
5. Particles	-	?	+
6. V → ∅	+	+	+
7. wa fa	-	-	+
. Subordination			
8. V 'an	-	+	+
9. V li V	-		-
10. V 'alā 'an	-		-
11. law V	-		-
12. kamā V	-		-
. Relativization			
13. mā V	+	-	+
14. lladī V	-	-	+
15. llatī V	-	+	-
. Average No. of nested clauses	1?	1-2	3
. Negation			
16. mā V	-	-	+
17. lā V	-	+	+
18. lam V	-	-	+
19. Romance borrowing	+	+	-
TOTAL	6?	8	12

The Saragossa and Toledo varieties are not significantly different, as far as the length of both documents permits one to say.

Should we confront these texts with king 'Abd Allāh's account - more out of curiosity than seeking reliable conclusions - for although dated official documents are accepted

by most linguists as reflecting, within the text, a conservative usage of the spoken idiom and consequently all three excerpts under consideration may be considered as contemporary, the main obstacle to a credible comparison is the disparity of registers/style between the chronicle and the deeds. For the sake of curiosity then, we have on the one hand a text from Al-Andalus, where the author is in close contact with Islamic culture, and for this reason may be seen as illustrating the full range possibilities available to the narrative register/style. On the other hand, the two texts were written within Arabic speaking communities irretrievably separated from first-hand contacts with Dār l-Islām. (1) The comparison shows a higher number of present features in king 'Abd Allāh's prose, a greater syntactic complexity, and logically a total absence of foreign items.

Cross Dialectal table of features in Cl3

Doc. 12 from Saragossa, dated 1246, is a Bill of Sale. Within the Toledo corpus, ms. 1027 is the closest in time, however much of it is in direct speech. Ms. 628, although more distant in time, is similarly the record of a sale and will be considered jointly with the other texts to compensate for the disparity in registers/styles.

1 the home of Islam.

Features	Saragossa doc.12 dated: 1246	Toledo 1027 1232	Toledo 628 1266
1. Word order VSO	+	+	+
. Morphemic alternations			
2. Derived forms RRR	+	+	+
3. Case ending morphs	+	-	-
4. Articles deviant from Cl. usage	?	-	-
5. Particles expand their domain	+	-	-
6. V → ∅	+	+	+
7. wa fa	+	+	-
. Subordination			
8. V 'an	-	+	-
9. V li V	-	-	-
10. V 'alā 'an	-	-	-
11. law V	-	-	-
12. kamā V	-	-	-
. Relativization			
13. mā V	+	+	-
14. llaḡī V	+	+	+
15. llatī V	-	+	+
. Average No. of nested clauses	1	2 to 3	3
. Negation			
16. mā V	-	-	-
17. lā V	+	+	-
18. lam V	+	-	-
19. Romance borrowing	+	+	+
TOTAL	11	10	6

The contrast shows that the Arabic dialect of Toledo had lost case ending morphs by Cl3, whereas the Arabic variety of Saragossa, although at a greater distance from Granada, still retained them. The reasons are many-fold, and therefore, it is all the more difficult to establish which are the determining factors. Royal policy blends with the fortunes of war, no less important are the characteristics of these Arabic-speaking

ايض في يوم الاحد التاسع عشرين
 شهر نونبر عام اثنتين واربعماية والبق
 الميلاد المسيح في دار دوية حوالة اكل
 جماعة الاخوان الذي نعم في فبصريت
 جامع الوديعه عمرها الله وامروا ان يجمع
 صدقة من الجماع الجايضة من كل
 واحد مثقلين ايض من اسقبطوس من
 كل واحد حصة مثقل وعطوا هذا الموكول
 المعلم على بن ابراهيم بن ساكير ومحمد بن
 على الكعاجي وانهم يفضوا بالجماع من
 ستة وثمانين مسلم الذي وجبت فيها وهم
 الاسفحظوش من حول
 المعلم عبد الله فرفجر
 احمد بن على فرفجر
 محمد بن على فرفجر

على بن يوسف بالفلاة
 المعلم ابراهيم البنا
 المعلم ادم البنا
 حسن البليطى
 محمد عبد دونه ترجة
 ثم اخرج بروشش ان يعطوهم يوكلوا
 من هذا اليوم الى تكلمة اربعة اشهر
 الى ابراهيم بن احمد السمار والى عبد
 الله بن سعيد السطير والتزم الفلويت
 حسب العواد عبد الله بن سعيد الحداد
 المذكور في اربعين مشغال بشرط ان
 كل من لم يحظار ويعلم ان هو بالبلاد
 ان يسطر فان وان سماع بعد ذلك
 والظامين لذلك محمد بن على الطنجي

Doc. LXXV

كتاب حاذ عبد الله بن عثمان بن احمد
 بن محمد بن حسين الانصارى خادم
 جامع النبله في مدينة ابلة
 اعرفكم عربكم الله كيب في حاذ

المدينة المذكورة ثلاثة جوامع وفي كل
 جامع منها واحد بغيره وكل اخذ منا
 اقول واطن على قدر جهدى بان انا
 على غير دين الله تابعين برغبنا الى

Doc. LXXIV
Part I

communities with totally different attitudes to the survival of Arabic and the greater population density of Arabic speakers in Aragon must tell in the overall assessment. One notices as well a more pronounced shift in the Toledo dialect, concerning relativization, towards the use of llaḍī and llatī, and what was observed diachronically for Toledo, before and after 1212, holds for a diachronic cross-dialectal comparison for the same period. Finally, the level of Romance borrowing is similar, for C13, in both varieties.

Arabic in Castile in C14 and C15

The next items were edited and published by Fernández y González (1), the first is part of a collection of notes, taken at the annual meeting of an aljama in the region of La Mancha (2), in southern Castile, for the purpose of fixing the alms-tax (ṣadaqat) and discussing other sundry matters.

LXXV. ayḍan fī yawm l-aḥad ṭ-ṭās^C a^C āšrīn (3) šahar nuwanbnbr(4)
^I ^I ^N ^N
ām iṭṇaṭayn (5) wa-arba^C māy-at wa-alf l-mīlād l-masīḥ fī dār
^N ^N ^I
dūniyat ḡuwānat akala ḡamā^C at l-iḡwān llaḍī-hum fī qufaḍiriyat
^V ^N ^N ^[N V→Ø] ^N ^I
ḡamā^C l-waḍī^C at amar-hā allāh wa amarū an yaḡma^C ṣadaqat min
^N ^N ^[V N] ^N ^[I V] ^N ^I
l-ḡamā^C l-ḡāyiza^C min kull wāḥid miṭṭalayn ayḍan min iṣṣuḡizūs min
^N ^N ^I ^N ^N ^I ^I ^N ^I
kull wāḥid ḡamsat miṭṭayl wa^C aṭū ḡadā l-mawḡul l-mu^C allim alī
^N ^N ^N ^[I V] ^N ^N ^N
bnu ibrahīm bnu sākayr wa muḡammad bnu alī l-kafāḡī wa anna-
^I ^N ^[I I]
hum (6) yaḡbiḍū bi (7) l-ḡamā^C min sittat wa ṭamānīn muslim
^N ^V ^I ^N ^I ^N

- 1 Fernández y González (1866:396). Described as docs. LXXV and LXXIV respectively, the latter is considered as C15.
- 2 Pascual de Gayangos's notes (unpublished).
- 3 and 4: HJB: in Ms. ‘ašra min ... nuwanbr-
- 5 HJB: iṭṇayn.
- 6 HJB: wa lā-hum.
- 7 HJB: bi is missing in ms.

alladī waḡabat fī-hā wa hum l-isquḡizus min hawlā.
 [N V I N] [IV→ØN N I N]
 mu^Callim^Cabd allāh ...

tumma akraḡa l-briūšteš an ya^Cṭū -hum yawkilū min haḡā l-yawm
 [I V N] [I V [? V ? I N]
 ilā taklimat arb^Cat ašhur ilā ibrahīm bnu aḡmad s-samār
 I N I N
 wa-ilā^Cabd allāh bnu sa^Cid s-sapaṭīr wa-iltāzama l-qalūniyat
 I I N] [I V N]
 hasba l-^Cawād (1) ^Cabd allāh bnu sa^Cid l-ḡaḡād l-maḡkūr fī
 N N N I
 arba^Cin mitḡāl bi-šart an kul man lam yaḡzār (2) wa ya^Clam
 N I N [I N [N I V] [I V
 anna huwa bi-l-bilād yastur hānā smā^Ca (3) ba^Cd ḡālīka
 [I V→Ø N I N] V N] V ? I N .]
 wa-l-zāmin (4) li-ḡālīka muḡammad bnu ʿalī ṭ-ṭaḡī.
 [I V→Ø N I N N]

: Romance loan

Translation:

Moreover on Sunday 19th November 1402 (after) the birth of the "Messiah", (the following) ate together, in the house of Doña Juana (that is) the congregation of brothers who form the brotherhood of the Aljama of el-Wadīa - God grant it life! and they ordered that the alms-tax be collected from the authorized aljamas, from everyone, 2 mizcals (coins). In addition from the chosen ones, each and every one, 5 mizcals. They gave this commission to Master ʿAli Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Sakayr and Mahomed bn ʿAli el Kafaḡi and they took (it?) from 86 Moslems who were liable ...

The chosen of them are:

Master ʿAbd-allāh etc....

Then the priostes (senior members) voiced the opinion that authority be given for this, from that date onwards until 4 months had past, to Ibrahim Ibn Ah-med el Samar and to ʿAbdallah Ibn Saʿid el Zapatero (shoemaker) and ʿAbdallah Ibn Saʿid el Haḡad (smith) was required to pay calonia (a fine) reckoned in the amount of 40 mizcals with the condition that all those who were not present and who know him to be in the district, record his disgrace, after hearing this. After which let Mahomed Ibn ʿAli el Taḡi be leader.

1 HJB: l-^Cawādīd

2 FyG: yaḡdar

3 HJB: y s mā^C

4 FyG: l-^Camīn

The second, LXXIV, (C15) is a Fatwa or legal opinion in Islamic law, concerning the use of raw hides for prayer, the sentence is delivered by Ibrahim Ibn ^CAlī, faqīh to the Aljama of Burgos.

katāba hāda ^Cabd allāh bnu ^Cuṭmān bnu aḥmad bnu muḥammad bnu ḥusāin
l-anṣārī kādīm ḡāmi^C l-qiblat fī madīnat abilat u^Crifa-kum ^Caraf-kum
allāh kayf fī hāda l-madīnat l-madkūrat talāṭat ḡawāmi^C wa-fī kul
ḡāmi^C min-hā wāḥid faqīh wa kul aḥad min-nā aqūl wa-aḡrum^C alā
qadr ḡuhdī bi-anna an-nā ^Calā ḡayr dīn allāh fa-raḡ-bat-nā ilā
allāh tumma ilay-kum tākun turš id-nā ^Calā ṭā^Cat allāh wa la-kum
min allāh l-aḡr wa t-tawāb fī mā aṭlub la-kum min l-masāyil fī
d-diyānat bi-anna yatī wa bayna-hum kilāf ^Calā hāda h l-masāyil
awwal-hā hal yaḡūz ṣ-ṣalāt bi-ḡulūd l-mayyitat ya^Cnī sammarat
malbūsa bi-hā aw ^Calay-hā bi-anna fī t-tafrī^C qāla yaḡūz li-
intafā^C ḡulūd l-mayyitat ba^Cd d-dubāḡ lā-kin mā yaḡūz bayi^C-hā wa lā
ṣ-ṣalāt ^Calay-hā wa ka-dālika fī r-risālat wa-ka-dālika fī
t-talqīn wa-hum ankarū lī dālika wa-hum yaqūl bi-anna taḡūza
ṣ-ṣalāt bi-ḡulūd l-mayyitat wa anī ankart la-hum dālika wa
l-kilāf bayna-nā aqūl bi-anna ḡulūd l-mayyitat qabl d-dibāḡ
naḡāsāt wa ba^Cd d-dibāḡ ṭāhirat ṭuhūrat maḡsūṣat yaḡūz ma^Ca-hā
ista^Cmāla-hā fī-l-yābisat wa fī-l-ma' waḡda-h min l-māba^Cāt
wa qad kari^Ch mālik raḡma-h allāh ista^Cmāla-ha fī-l-mā fī kāṣṣat
nafs=h wa lam yuḡīq ^Calā ḡayr-h wa-lā taḡūz bayi^C-hā wa lā
ṣ-ṣalāt ^Calay-hā wa ḡulūd l-mayyitat mim-mā yūkalu laḡm=h wa mim-mā
lā yūkalu laḡm=h bi-manzilat waḡdat fa-allāh allāh raḡbat-nā
ilay-kum an takun tukabbir-nā bi-katt aydī-kum maršūm fī ḡahr
maktūbinā wa aḡr=kum ^Calā allāh min l-yāsir ilay-kum ^Cabd allāh
l-madkūr ṣaḡīḡ ^Cindī mā qāla l-mu^Callim ^Cabd allāh abū l-^Cabbās
aḥmad bnu ^Camrān kādīm ḡamā^C l-muslimīn min balad walīd . ṣaḡīḡ
^Cindī mā qāla-h wa aftā bi-h abī muḥammad ^Cabd allāh bnu ^Cuṭmān
l-anṣārī kādīm min ḡāmi^C l-qiblat min madīnat abilat bi-anna lā

الله ثم اليكم ان تاكلن ترشدنا على طاعة الله ولكم من الله الاجر والشواب
 في ما اطلب لكم من المسائل في الديانة بان بتي وبينهم خلاف على
 جاذه المسائل اولها هل يجوز الصلوة بجلود الميتة يعني سمرة ملبوسة بها او عليها
 بان في التعرّيج قال يجوز للانتفاع بجلود الميتة بعد الدباغ لاكلن ما يجوز بيعها
 ولا الصلوة عليها وكذلك في الرسائل وكذلك في التلثين وهم انكروا لي
 ذلك وهم يقول بان تجوز الصلوة بجلود الميتة وانني انكرت لهم ذلك
 والخلاف بيننا اقول بان جلود الميتة قبل الدباغ نجاسة وبعد الدباغ طاهرة
 طهورة مخصوصة يجوز معها استعمالها في اليابسة وفي الماء وحده من
 المابعات وقد كره مالك رحمه الله استعمالها في الماء في خاصة نفسه
 ولم يضيف على غيره ولا تجوز بيعها ولا الصلوة عليها وجلود الميتة ما يوكل
 لحمه وما لا يوكل لحمه بمنزلة وحدة بالله الله رغبنا اليكم ان تكن تخبرنا
 بخط ايديكم مرشوم في ظهر مكتوبنا

واجركم على الله من الياسر اليكم تحبذ الله المذكور
 صح صدى ما قاله المعلم عبد الله ابو العباس احمد بن عمران خديم جماع المسلمين من بلد وليد
 ابو العباس احمد بن عمران

صحيح صدى ما قاله في بيتي به ابي محمد عبد الله بن عثمان الانصاري خديم من جامع الفيلة من مدينة ابلة بان لا يجوز الصلوة على الجلود الميتة ويجوز الانتفاع بها في اليابسة ولا يجوز بيعها وانا ابراهيم بن علي بن برش زيدش خديم جامع مسلمي مدينة برش ثبت
 هذه لانه صحيح وكنت اسمي صح
 ابراهيم بن علي زيدش صح

yağūz ṣ-ṣal-āt 'alā l-ḡulūd mayyitat wa yağūz l-intafā' bi-hā
fī-l-yābisat wa lā yağūz bayī' -hā wa -anā ibrahīm bnu 'alī bnu
faraš r-ruydiyas kadīm ḡāmī muslimī madīnat burquš tabattu hād =h
li-anna-h ṣaḥīḥ wa katabt smī.

'Abdallāh Ibn 'Utman Ibn Ahmed Ibn Mahomed Ibn Husain el Ansari, attendant to the Aljama of the South in the town of Avila. I bring to your attention, May God enlighten you likewise! that in the above-mentioned town, there are three aljamas, each with its faqīh and that each one of us, be it in words or deeds, as far as I am concerned, is far from true to the Faith and so I ask God and you to guide us to submission to Allāh, May He grant you reward and recompense! In my request in matters of the Faith - for there is divergency of opinion among them in this matter - to begin with, is it permissible to pray on the raw hides of animals (not slaughtered according to practice?), that is as with sheep-skins for clothing, on their products or on them (directly)? According to el Tafri who says the use of raw hides is acceptable after tanning but (he says) it is not allowed to sell them nor to pray on them. Thus, it is stipulated in the treatises and in Talqīn and they (the other faqīhs) dispute this and say it is permissible to pray on (these) hides and I refute this. There is disagreement among us. I say then that (these) hides before tanning are impure and after clean. The purification, specifically, is lawful when they are treated by dry means and with water with . Mālik, God have mercy on him! disagreed with their treatment with water, deep down in himself, but he did not restrict it or otherwise. It is not permissible to sell them nor to pray on them and it is with raw hides as with the eating of the flesh when it is allowed and when it is not. By God Himself! we beg you to inform us of your opinion in your own writing on our letter. May God reward you and be lenient with you! from the above-mentioned 'Abdallāh. As said to me by Master 'Abdallāh. Abu el Abbas Ahmed Ibn 'Amrān, attendant to the Aljama of Valladolid. This is proper by me, that is what was said and decided by Abu Mahomed 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Utman el Ansari, attendant to the Aljama of the South in the town of Avila. Thus it is not lawful to pray on raw hides but permissible after treatment by dry means. They may not be sold. I, Ibrahim Ibn 'Alī Ibn Faraš Ruy Diaz, attendant to the Aljama of Moslems in the city of Burgos. I confirm this, for it is proper and sign it with my name. (1)

These documents were written by faqīhs and one might ask how representative they are of the Arabic competence of the remaining members of their communities. They are in the formal style and only more documents of a less official nature could provide the necessary information to complete the study. We know, however, that at the end of the century, Aljamía was replacing Arabic even in religious contexts. Ice de Gebir,
(1) Translation based on Fy G. Spanish translation.

the mufti (spiritual leader) of Segovia writes around 1462:

"weighty reasons moved me to interpret the Divine gift of the Koran from Arabic into Alchamía ... since the Moors of Castile, subjected to great oppression and distress, have lost their Arabic schools..." (1)

Feature Analysis

1. V S O order:

tumma akrağa l-briūšteš an ... LXXV
 [I V N [I]]
 wa bayna-hum kilāf ʿalā hād =h ... LXXIV but
 [I I N V I N]
 wa anā ibrahīm ... tabattu hād =h ...
 [I N V N]

The same order is dominant with the occasional reversal in latter.

2. Derivation from trilateral roots:

yağma^C, ġamā^C, gamā^Cat; ʿaṭū, ya^Cṭū LXXV
 u^Crifa ʿaraf; ṭāhirat, ṭuhūrat; kari, ankarū LXXIV

3. Case morphs: In LXXV, not only are there no case morphs but the final consonant is at risk: tas^Caḥ: sittat

The original MS is unvowelled. In LXXIV the few final vowels in the transcription serve to break up heavy consonant clusters.

4. deviant or divergent use of articles:

ʿām l-mīlād l-masīḥ LXXV

In the second text, we find an unpredictable absence of the definite article in specific contexts.

ʿalā l-ğulūd Ø mayyitat
 I N Art. N
 kadīm ġamī^C Ø muslimī
 N N Art. N

5. Particles. In LXXV, the same V component in a similar

BNM 6016 (G11v-2r)

- 1 Memorial Histórico Español (1853:V:247-248): "compendiosas causas me movieron a interpretar la divina gracia del Alcorán de lengua Arabiga en alchamía ... por que los moros de Castilla con grande subjección y apremio grande ... an perdido las escuelas del arábigo..."

context appears without a particle, and then with ilā:

^C_{at} ∅
ya^Cṭū ..ilā

and similarly, iltazama is construed unexpectedly with fī.

The opposite case happens in LXXIV, where one would generate a particle fī or min in the given context it is absent.

kaḍīm ġamī^C muslimī ∅ madīnat burġuś

6. V deletion is common in both texts.

7. wa...fa coordination is present only in LXXIV.

8. V'an is realized as V an, the initial glottal stop is presumed lost (see concluding remarks).

wa amarū an yaġma^C ṣadaqat LXXV
[I V [I V N]]
fa-allāh allāh raġbat-nā ilay-kum an takun tukabbir-nā
[I N I N [I V]]

13. Relativization. The two instances of ma V have no head or antecedent:

t-tawāb fī mā aṭlub la-kum
N I [N V I N]
ṣaḥīḥ^C indī mā qāla-h
I [N V]

Is mā in the process of relexicalization as we have seen with other members of the system, i.e. allaḍī in Granadan Arabic and here allaḍī-hum in LXXV?

Average number of nested clauses per string is 1, with a slightly higher incidence in LXXV.

14. muslim allaḍī waġabat fi-hā LXXV. In this context waġabat is ambiguous as to N or V. If V, the feminine marker is unexplainable; if N the nearest cognate is spelt with tā' marbūṭa.

16. mā (neg.) V occurs in:

lā-kin mā yaġūz bayi^C LXXIV
I I V

17. *lā* V is common in LXXIV.

18. *lam* V is to be found in both documents.

19. Romance borrowing is heavier in LXXV where it verges almost on Aljamía:

qufaḍirīyat, iṣquḡizūš, briūšteš

are lexical items with Christian semantic associations. Such borrowing is contrary to the norm, where Islam was identified with the culture of this ethnic minority. The second text requesting a legal opinion on Islamic law accepts only proper names as loans. The faqīh of Burgos has, as was sometimes the case, two names: "Ruy Diaz" for authorities and "Ibrāhīm Ibn ^{Don} CAlī Faraš" within his community.

Other features worth commenting on are:

. Fronting of the adjective in its first stages:

i) l-mu^Callim ^Calī

Title (Adj.) N

ii) *lā* talkimat arba^Cat ašhur

I Adj. N

. The absence of invariants at the onset of the string:

an	ya ^C	tū-hum	yawkilū	LXXV
[I	V	N [Ø	V ...]]	
tuhūrat	maḡṣūṣat	yaḡūz	LXXIV	
[Ø	N	N V ...]		

. At another level, error analysis of the spelling reveals that phonological changes are taking place:

1) Interference from Romance phoneme /ǧ/ [ʒ] in its most recent realizations [x] [ħ] would account for the spelling hamsat, as being more than a missing dot above the letter.

The loan iṣquḡizūš /ǧ/ [ʒ] = alternates with iṣquḡizūš /ħ/ [ħ]. So if /ǧ/ is identified with the allophones [x] and [ħ] it has invaded the domain of /k/ [x]. /k/, by analogy, acquires the realization [ħ] also spelt "h".

Erratic spellings concerning emphatic letters: ṭās^ca, yaḥzār, zamīn LXXV.

2) The fading out of the hamza /' / may be observed in both texts. It may be interpreted as a process eliminating divergent features found in Arabic although not in Romance. When the phase is complete, this variety of Arabic will be closer to Romance than to other non-Spanish Arabic dialects.

a) medial /'/ → /y/ as in "masāyil", an intermediate stage.

b) medial /'/ → ∅ as in "risālat", the final stage.

final /'/ → ∅ "ma'i" becomes "mā" [ma]

initial /'/ was the first to go. Because of its position in the word and its spelling, it is more difficult to follow its disappearance.

3) Hesitation in the vocalic quantity is apparent throughout. From the hypercorrected form of dālika spelt with an alif (letter of prolongation), we have hādā spelt as hādā. Here are more examples

ul anṣārī	occurs as	ul-anṣarī
kādīm	as	kadīm
ḡāma ^c	as	ḡawāmi ^c
takūn	as	takun

. Finally, the originality of these texts lies also in their use of invariants, which according to Ribera (1) is dialect specific. Instead of the more usual v'alā'an, kamāV we find bi anna bi šart an. No less striking is the dating of LXXV in terms of "in the year of the birth of the Messiah". This is the only case we have met so far.

1 Ribera y Tarragó (1928:332).

7.4 Arabic in Spain after the Fall of Granada (1492-1614)

7.4.1 Granada

The first years of Christian rule were for the Islamic population, in the kingdom of Granada, relatively benign until the turn of the century, when by an abrupt change of policy they ceased to be governed by local representatives of Queen Isabella, to become the immediate concern of Crown officials.

The long years of struggle against the Moors had been informed by the rousing ideals of a religious crusade and, now that Providence had granted victory, to tolerate any form of worship foreign to Roman Catholicism was indefensible. The State was well served by this argument. The Moslem subjects had to be "naturalized", they had to become in no way distinguishable from the rest of Their Catholic Majesties' subjects. Left to their own devices, they were seen to be a very real source of danger. The Moors had been excellent soldiers, capable of undergoing great hardship. The majority of their communities were situated within easy reach of the coast, from where they could receive any amount of help from across the waters, in terms of men, money and arms (1). They could rebel and betray their Christian overlords whenever they chose. They were like a slow fuse that might detonate the explosive at any moment. Queen Isabella had experienced years of civil strife and prolonged

1 Cf. Alonso del Castillo (1952:13,26,51). Also Marmol in Caro Baroja (1976:170): "They would shelter Turks and Barbary (soldiers) in their homes and villages and give them such information that they might kill, rob and seize Christians. Sometimes they (Moors from Granada) would take Christian prisoners and sell them to these (pirates)." Both sources describe events in the late C16. There is evidence that these Moors may have been driven to retaliation.

campaigns against the followers of another religion; she was determined to consolidate peace within her kingdom, whatever the cost. Conversion to Catholicism would be a major step forward in this process of their assimilation into the Spanish community. This may have simplified the issues; yet, we do not think these views to be essentially wrong nor very far from the motives that inspired the change of policy; thereby, infringing all the agreements passed, in the Capitulation of Granada, guaranteeing respect of life, property, culture and religion of the Moslem subjects by the Christian rulers.

Massive "conversions" took place in December 1499.

The documents referred to as representative of Granadan Arabic, for this period, must be seen in the light of these events.

The first is the so-called Boabdil's elegy (1); whether it is by the last Naşrid ruler or not is secondary to the fact that it was a popular poem of the time. Our interest lies in what morpho-syntactic information there is, bearing in mind that it may not be too accurate in its transcription:

Alhambra hanina gualcoçor taphqui

[N I V

RML(2) *al-ḥamrā' hanī-na wa-l-quṣūr tafqi* (3)

Alamayarali, ia Muley Uabdeli

I N]

RML *al-amrar-lī? ya muley abuabdeli*

Ati nifaraci guadargā ti albayda

[V N I N N

RML *at-ī ni farasi wa-daraqati al-bayḍat*

Vix nansi nicatar, guanahod Alhambra

I? V? [V] [I V N]

1 Schack (1881:volIII:301) "Discurso hecho por Argote de Molina sobre la poesía castellana", en su edición del Conde Lucanor. Argote de Molina (1642:139)

2 Reconstructed morphemic level.

3 ḥāya "die" or tabkkī "weep".

- RML *biš? na-nši? ni-qatal wa-nahawd al-ḥamrā*
Ati nifaraci guadarga ti didi
 [V N I N]
- RML *atī ni farasi wa-daraqati dīdī*
Vix nansi nicatar guanahod aulidi
 [V][I V N]
- RML *ni-qatal wa-nahawd aulidi*
Aulidi fi Guadix, Ua-marati fijol alfata
 [N V→∅ I N][IV→∅ N I N N]
- RML *awlidi fī wādī-š wa-marati fī-ḡawl al-fath*
Ha hati di novi ya seti o malfata
 [I V I N N]
- RML *hā ḥāti ya sayyidati umm l-f-t-*
Aulidi si⁽ⁱ⁾ guadix, guana fijol alfata
 N N I N I N N]
- RML *awlidi wādī-š wa-na fī-ḡawl l-fath*
Ha hati di novi ya seti o malfata
 [I V I N N]
- RML *hā ḥāti ya sayyidati umm-al-f t (2)*

In terms of features, one can say:

1. Word order is flexible.

2 and 3. There are two morphs -i; ^{na-}ni- which are difficult to identify:

in nicatar guanahod...

ni-, na- alternate. We know that na-V (imperfective) is a common dialectal form for the first person. Thus, possibly nicatar "I battle" guanahod "and I retrieve".

The -i morph is present in ati and hati as V-ī = V me

1 HJB: Argote de Molina (1642: 139) fi

2. For comments on two earlier transcriptions by Nykl and Vázquez, see Vázquez Ruiz (1950).

HJB: di novi is probably a pun between نوبة "afflict" and نوب "blame" (cost) Dozy and ^{نوب}أنب → نوب
 Dozy (II:731).

in marati, aulidi, and seti as N-i = my N.

The other possible segmentation is ati-ni faraci. -ni exists in formal varieties in alternation with $\frac{N}{V} - i = \text{me/my}$.

at-i-ni farac-i

v-me my horse

Elsewhere, the function of morph -i is not apparent: tafqi.

6. There is a clear instance of V deletion:

Uamarati fijol alfata

[I V→∅ N I N N]

7. Coordination is marked by wa only.

8. There may be one nested clause if nansi is reflecting a V component: namsi with the loss of I in the embedded string.

nansi nicatar

V [V ..]

19. There are no foreign loans and nothing specifically Romance in the underlying structure.

Translation based on Valera's Spanish version:

Alhambra, love! Your bastions weep
Muley Uabdeli, for they are lost.
Give me my steed and my white shield
To fight and the Alhambra retrieve.

Give me my horse and my blue shield
To battle and my sons set free
Gibraltar my wife holds, my sons Guadix
Lady Malfata, but for thee I ~~would~~ not miss

My sons in Guadix and Gibraltar the cost.
Lady Malfata, through thee, I lost.

The gains and losses of a transcription of Arabic into Roman script may clearly be appreciated from our analysis. True, the vowel quality becomes transparent, the loss is in the transposition of the consonants.

- i) The opposition $\dot{\text{t}}$ velar-pharyngalization is opaque.
- ii) The opposition /s::š/ is not reliable.
- iii) /r/ permutes with /l/.
- iv) Gemination can only be guessed.

For all these reasons the "Pedro de Alcalá[I, II](Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arabiga and Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana", Granada 1505) are so remarkable, indeed unique. The author takes great pains to explain the difficulties of Granadan Arabic pronunciation for Romance speakers, providing examples to prove his point. Furthermore he makes use of a limited number of diacritics to supplement the Roman script wherever the pronunciation of an item is other than its closest Spanish phone. The high level of consistency of his transcription shows him to have been a great, but little known linguist. We shall discuss his works jointly with those of Bartolomé Dorador, at a later stage.

More or less contemporary is the letter Maryam al-Mawwāq wrote to her cousin, in "castellano-morisco", (1) a hybrid variety of Arabic and Castilian. (2)

1 I. de las Cagigas (1954:272-5).

2 Our transcription with its weaknesses differs from (1) in solar assimilations and vowel quality. $\text{ʔ} \cdot \text{o} - \text{ʔ} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{b}$ are the paleographic conventions to represent u in an Arabic script.

al-ḥamdu li-llāh wa-s-ṣalāt wa-salāmu al-akmalān ʿalā rasūli allāh
muy manifiku i-amaḡu i-ḡeše ʿadu fertuwošo akel ke tengu enkwenta
de-ermano sīd aḡmad al-mawwāq a-keresiyente allāh šu-onrra amīn.
akwantu depuweš haḡus šaber kumo ešto buwenā al-ḥamdu li-llāh
ke-nu-tengu ʾotru ḡeše sinu-ber-uš. rweḡ-uš walad ʿammatī ke
me enkumendeš mučo a-l-onrraḡa bertuosah i-ḡešeḡa mi-brimah
bueštra muḡer-e-hiḡah y-a-la-onrraḡa ḡeše ʿaḡa de-miš uḡuš
mi-amma=h buwestra umi-hā [sic] y-al-onrraḡu birtuošo mi-ʿamī buwestru
welido y-al-onrraḡu ḡeše ʿaḡu i-maš amaḡu i-keridu mi-brimo
muḡammad al-mawwāq buwestru ermano rresebiḡ mučoš enkumendasiyuneš
de-mi-welidi i-ḡe-mī umī-i-ḡemi-ermano ibrahīm i-ḡekaštalo i-ḡe
sumuḡer i-ḡe fātma-h i-ḡe sū-umī. y-a-buweštru ermano ʿalī nu-le
ḡešare-ir de-aka dayikiya ke benga buweštru ermano muḡammad bu-wel.
i-mi-ermano ʿabd allāh bnu? ʿabd-el-malik buš šaludu [sic] mučo i-yo
buweštra bint ḡālī [sic] me-e nkumiyendu mučo a buš y-ešto perešta a-lu
ke-kerreš mandar ke-anši me kunteše kunbuš kumo el-ʾutru ke ḡišo
a-muwertoš i-a-ʾiduš no-ay amigoš ke depuweš ke ḡe-aki buš fuwešteš
nunka bus abe ʾiš akorḡaḡu ḡemi por ʿaḡura nu-maš? salbu ke allāh
se-a en-buweštra warḡa? amīn. yā walad ʿammatī yā qurrat ʿaynī
yā ḡumrat qalbī yā tāḡirat yāsī yā qat ʿifa-h wa? yā walad ʿammatī.
mučo buš rruweḡu si-se-uš akuwerḡa del-limon. ke kumiyešteš en-la
kamara kon kaškaš i-tudu. de la-ke esta-h perešta-h kumo umil
ermanah a-buweštara onrra. maryam al-mawwāq. aḡarnaḡa-h.
haḡus šaber kumo me abeḡaḡu a-le-er buweštru armanu ʿalī i?-a-
eskerebir. i-enbiyame karta-h ke biyen lā-sabre le-er. mučo buš
rruweḡu walad ʿammatī ke luš-pulbuš ke me ḡešišteš ke me-loš
enbiyeš kon-mi-birimo buestro ermano kuwandu benga-h. rruweḡuš
ermano me enbiyeš la-rrepuwešta-h eškirita-h kon-ḡarande alegriya-h
de-mano de kiyen pensaba-h ke en-la-ora antešī buš-tenya-h serraḡa
kun ḡarande tirišteza ḡeš-ke apartaḡa de buš se a-hallo ke kon
laḡremas de šuš uḡuš lamintalo. ————— = non-Arabic

Translation

Thanks be to God! Perfect peace and blessings on the Messenger of Allah! Oh splendid, loved, true, beloved one, he whom I consider as a brother Sid Ahmad al-Mawwāq. May God increase his fame! Amen! Let me tell you I am well. Thanks be to God! I have no other wish but to see you. I beg you, cousin, convey my regards to my honourable, virtuous, longed for cousin, your wife, and daughter whom my eyes long to see, and aunt - your mother - and my honourable uncle - your father - and to my most cherished and loved cousin, M. After which receive many regards from my father, mother and brother Ibrahim, from Castillo, his wife, from Fatimah and her mother. As for your brother Ali I shall not let him go from here until your brother M comes for him. My brother Ab. sends you his best wishes and I, your cousin, greet you and am at your disposal.

The same thing is happening to me as he who said "the dead and the absent have no friends". Since you have left, you have not remembered me. No more for the nonce, save May God have you in his keeping! O cousin! O joy of my eyes! O secret of my heart? O, my sweet, O cousin of mine! Tell if you remember when you ate the lemon, skin and all, in the room. Your humble sister. Maryam al-Mawwāq - Granada.

Let me inform you that your brother 'Ali has taught me to read and write. So send me a letter for I shall be able to read it. O cousin! Please send the powder you mentioned with your brother - my cousin - when he comes. Please send me a written reply in the hand of he whom, she thought, with delight, was present in front of her at the time when she was deep in sorrow and weeping tears of sadness, at being far from you.

The text raises a number of questions:

- I) Did the Moslem population speak this variety?
- II) Could it be the idiom of feminine society?
- III) What was the dialectal situation outside Granada?
- IV) What is the nature of this hybrid variety?

I) In 1496 or thereabouts, it is most unlikely that the Moslem community spoke habitually in this fashion. The "Capitulations" agreement still held and it guaranteed the livelihood of the faqīḥs, jurists in Islamic law. Arabic was used as a prestige language. This is confirmed by Ibn 'Abd

ar-Rafī' el Andalusī (1). The "Pedro de Alcalá I" argues for a widespread lack of understanding of Spanish and a continued use of Granadan Arabic.

II) How then can one explain that Maryam al-Mawwāq did not write in a similar variety to Al-Qirbilyānī? The answer could be that it was a medium more particularly used by men, that is the language of the street.(2) In the Mancebo of Arevalo's account of his visit to Granada (3), the Moorish lady from Ubeda converses with him in Aljamía, since he had scant knowledge of Arabic, and when he called on a learned man later, he marvels at the sight of the latter's daughter, an accomplished Koranic reader, giving one to understand that this was most unusual.

III) Whereas in Granada itself there were official translators such as Alonso del Castillo and Juan Rodríguez of the Cenete documents, and from 1500 onwards, 4 interpreters, 6 town-criers and an executioner; all speakers of Arabic as stipulated in the "ordenanzas" (4), the bishop of Guadix had to commission another catechism for his Moorish flock, 50 years after Alcalá's, which shows how attached they were to their native dialect. As Nuñez Muley explains in his petition to the Crown in 1567, against the "Pragmática" or decree forbidding the speaking, reading or writing in Arabic within the kingdom:

- 1 Turki in Epalza & Petit (1973:118) "all...had studied with one of the best known teachers in Granada, the jurist al-Ūṭurī. He had learnt the Koran, jurisprudence and other sciences."
- 2 Contrasting Male and Female varieties are not unknown in the Arabic speaking world. See Dekkak (1974).
- 3 Harvey (1956:301-2). See also Chapter 8 for a study of her speech.
- 4 Caro Baroja (1976:161).

"How can one deprive a nation of its mother tongue?... Besides one can check that in the Kingdom not a single agreement nor Will has been couched in Arabic since our conversion..."(1)

As one can appreciate, the situation had changed from the one described in I, this explains the scarcity of legal documents in Arabic, after the capture of Granada.

"These people (in the Arabic-speaking community) have been brought up in little villages, where there has never been a grammar (in sight); had there been one, nobody would have understood it, except for the priest, the prebendary or the verger who always conversed with them in Arabic." (1)

IV) Hybridization

To assess the nature of this Castilian-Moorish variety, we shall refer the reader to table 7.2.1 representing the language continuum or the gamut of styles and registers available to Arabic speakers with a similar level of borrowing. To appreciate this space, one has to segment it into discrete stages. Say, the following:

	Arabic	Romance medium	Arabic medium	Romance
Surface	S.S +loans			S.S+loans
Structure=	corresponds	corresponds	corresponds	corresponds
S.S	with	with	with	with
Underlying	Arabic U.S.	Arabic	Romance	Romance U.S.
Structure=		U.S	U.S.	
U.S.		Component	Component	
		Order	Order	
		H Y B R I D I Z A T I O N		
	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4

Magnified section of Table 7.2.1.

These stages overlap by definition, as they belong to a continuum, or to put it in a different perspective, any speaker may shift by degrees from one stage to the next, in practice. What is perceived as mixed forms in the surface structure will

1 in Circourt (1846:II:472).

be apprehended as hybridization at a level of greater abstraction, that of convergence. Hybridization is concerned with the processes that generate the admixture of items in the syntactic string: *bueṣtra umī*

Table 7.2.1 should also be seen as a grid. At one extreme, the opening salutation collocates with Classical Arabic. It shares the same set of features. The remaining Arabic, in the surface structure, consists of a few short conventional expressions and lexical items used as gap fillers in a Romance context (stage 3). They are ascribed to vernacular usage as they present dialectal features:

yā qurraṭ ʿaynī yā ḍumraṭ qalbī (loss of case morphs)

bint ḥālī (loss of article : *bintu l-ḥālī*)

The lexical items are of two kinds: i) proper names: *ʿalī*, *fāṭma*=h; and ii) kinship terms. The latter surprisingly provides a fairly large set of them:

<i>umī</i> "mother"	<i>welido</i> "father"
<i>walad</i> "son" (1)	<i>bint</i> "daughter"

Romance loans: *ermano* "brother"; *ermana*=h "sister"

<i>ʿammāt</i> "paternal aunt"	<i>ʿamm</i> "paternal uncle"
<i>ḥāl</i> "maternal uncle"	
<i>walad ʿammāt</i> "son of paternal aunt, cousin"	
<i>bint ḥāl</i> "daughter of maternal uncle, cousin"	

Where there are no Arabic loans, there is shift to a stage 2 variety, blending into Castilian. That is, the surface structure is Romance and it is only when the underlying structure coincides with the surface structure that one can be sure it is Castilian. The difficulty is obvious and familiar: the underlying structure escapes direct observation. Our knowledge

1 *awlad* pl. previous text "Boabdil's elegy".

of it relies on hypotheses that may be validated in some cases within the language, or corroborated by research into similar linguistic behaviour in non-related dialects. Order is a key concept in such an analysis, together with the identification of the function of the components. So is contrast between synchronic varieties essential for the detection of anomaly, for instance calques. If one can ascribe strings to stages 1 and 4 with greater confidence than with 2 and 3, those strings which are deviant with respect to these polar stages may be classified as potential stage 2 or 3 strings. Anomaly would be graded according to common features shared with the polar stages.

1. Word Order is flexible.
2. Where the medium is Romance there are no triliteral roots.
3. There are no case ending morphs, but possibly a mixed form redundancy: mi um-i mi "my" Romance, um "mother" Arabic, -i "my" Arabic resolving itself with a loss of awareness of morph -i. Hence bueštra umi, coining a new item umi, and predictably 'ami.

4. Articles are deviant to Arabic usage; they are absent where expected:

la onrraḍa Ø bertuoša-h i Ø deše'ada mi brima-h (1)

5. Particles are deviant to Castilian usage:
akwantu, depuweš do not collocate in Romance. It is a calque for 'amma ba'd.

Whereas haḡuš šaber kumo may be grammatical in some cases, here it is inappropriate in the first instance: i.e. haḡuš

1 Cf. Cenete documents: 1330 AD.

šaber ke ešto buena. More later.

6. There is one example of $V \rightarrow \emptyset$ deletion:

por águra nu maś
[I V→∅ I]

7. Co-ordination is systematic. This feature typical of Arabic but not of Romance.

8. $V \text{ 'an } V$ coincides with $V \text{ ke } V$. There is convergence, syntagmatically, but not paradigmatically, as we shall see with the next patterns.

12. $kamā V$ coincides with $como V$.

We have just seen that hağuş šaber kumo ešto buwena was deviant.

We suggest that the second instance of this pattern is a calque:

hağuş šaber kumo me abezađu a le-er ...^Calī. i-enbiyame...

That is the underlying structure is Arabic:

	V	kamā	V	wa-V
or	V	since	V	so V
not	V	how	V	and V

as one decodes on first reading.

13. $mā V$ finds its equivalent in $ke V/lo ke V$;

14. $llađī V$ in $ke V /el ke V / kiyen V/$ (el cual V not in text);

15. $llatī V$ in $ke V/ la ke V /$ (la cual V not in text).

Hybridization is reflected by limited patterns (see table

7.2.1). The preferred choice is for the common option, here

$ke V$ which as a result becomes ambiguous:

rrueğu...ke luş-pulbuş ke me deşişteş ke me los enbiyeş
[V [N [V]]]
serrađa kun ġarande tirišteza deş-ke apartađa de buş se a
-hallo ke kon lağremas ... lamintalo.

We suggest: kun tañ ġarande ...ke kon lağremas lamintalo.

A process of simplification has taken place, reducing the number of different patterns (see Chapter 5).

The conclusions are better seen in table form:

Features	Arabic Stage 1	Letter	Romance Stage 4
1.	VSO mainly	convergent	flexible
2.		Ø	-
3.	-	convergent	-
4.	+	deviant	+
5.	+	Arabic	+
6.	+	convergent	+
7.	+	Arabic	+
8.	+	deviant	-
12.	+	Arabic	
13to15.	+	convergent	+

Discounting the convergent features, they are present in polar varieties. The letter has retained 3 features of Arabic, 1 of Romance and is deviant from polar varieties in 2 features. From a Castilian point of view, 1 feature only, the 3 Arabic features added to the 2 deviant features does raise the question as to whether this is a Romance variety or an incipient creole.

Bill of Sale, dated 1494. The deed is rather short to be able to ascribe it to any particular variety. Aguirre Sádaba, who edited it (1), was of the opinion it was Granadan Arabic.

al-ḥamdu lillāh

bā'a 'abū l-ḥasan faḍl bnu mūsā bnu raḡā min n-naṣrānī

afransišq-uh dī murālaš l-mubtā' li-nafs=h wa li-zawğ=h

afransišqah mūlinah wa bi-s-siwā bayn-h=mā ḡamī' l-faddān

s-saqawī bi- r-ramān(2) min dār l-ḥawayt kārīḡa l-ḥaḍirat

qibliyyah balāt min ḥaqq -h ḡawfiyyah l-haddād tāfur wa

šarqiyyah bni-h l-mawlūd wa ḡarbiyyah balāt li-l-ḡayr

bi-ḥuqūq=h wa ḥuram=h wa madḡal=h wa maṣdar=h bi-ṭaman

1 Aguirre Sádaba (1980:169-71).

2 AS: ramāl.

Bill of Sale 1494.

Aguirre Sádaba (1980:169ff).

الحمد لله

باع أبو الحسن فضل بن موسى بن رجا (هـ) من النصاراني
افرنسشقه ذي مزالش المبتاع لنفسه و لزوجه افرنسشقه (ذي) مولينه
و بالسوا (هـ) بينهما جميع الفدان السقوي بالزمان من دار الحويت
خارج الحضرة قبله بلاط من حقه جزئه الحادى ظاهر و شرقه
[[ابنه] المولود و غربه بلاط للغير بحقوقه و حرمه و مدخله
و صدره بثمان قدره عشر ريات من الجارية الآن قبضها و صارت
بيده و (في) قبضه و أبراه منها إبراهيم (هـ) تأما و بذلك خلص للمبتاع
و المبتاعة لها تلك المبيع خلوصا تأما على السنة و مرجع الدرك
بعد الد[ظر] و التقلب و الرضا و عرفا قدره و شهد عليهما بذلك
من عرفهما بها (ل) صحة و جواز في العاشر لشعبان عام تسعة
و تسعين و ثمان مائة .

أصلح فيه "ريالات" صح به في تاريخه .
و الزرع الظاهر بالفدان للبا (ثع) و في تاريخه .

(توقيعات غير مقروءة)

qadr=h 'ašra rayālāt min l-ġāri-yat al'ān qabbada-hā wa
 šarat bi-yad -h wa qabḍ=h wa abra-h min-hā 'ibrā tāmman
 wa bi-dālika kalāša li-l-mubtā' wa l-mubtā' at (1) la-hā
 tamalluk l-mabī' kulūšan tāmman 'alā s-sunnat marġa'
 d-ḍarka ba'd l- (2) ... t-taqlīb wa r-ridā wa 'arafan
 qadr=h wa šahada 'alay-h=mā bi-dālika man 'arafa-humā
 bi-hāl ṣiḥḥat wa ġawāz fī l-'āšir li-ša'bān 'ām tis'at
 a-tis'īn fī ṭamānī m..(3) aṣlah fī-h rayālāt ṣaḥḥ-h bi-h fī
 tārīk=h wa z-zari' t-tāhr (4) bi-l-faddān li-l-bā'i' (1)
 wa fī tārīk=h. _____ = Romance loan

Translation

Praise be to God!

Abu l-Hasan Faḍl Ibn Musa Ibn Raġa sold to the Christian Francisco de Morales, the buyer, (acting on) his behalf and his wife's Francisca Molina, in equal shares between them - the whole irrigated field of the sand bank by the house of the Fish, outside the city. (There is) to the South a strip of his, to the North (property) of the smith Tafur, to the East (land) of his son el Mawluḍ and to the West, a strip belonging to someone else. With all its rights, inalienable property, entrance and exist at the price of 10 reales in current coinage. He received the money in hand, thereby freeing the other from any further payment, the buyer having settled the whole sum. He handed over the ownership of the sold (land) to the purchase, honestly and definitely, according to the law (Sunna), the onus being on the seller (5) after inspecting it and being satisfied. (Both parties) know the implications of the deal. (The following) bear witness on their behalf as to knowing them to be sound in mind and body, on 10th of Shaban 899 AH. "Reales" was corrected, it is valid as it was done that day. The sown crop to be seen in the field is for the seller? as from the above date.

- 1 AS. See note 3.
- 2 AS: nazar
- 3 AS: mi'at, HBJ: with the loss of the hamza, miyat or māyat, bā'i' → bāyi'
- 4 AS: z-zāhr
- 5 Islamic law: to hand back the money if there is a flaw in the agreement.

Feature analysis

1. VSO: qabbada -hā wa šarat bi-yad-h
[V N][I V I N]
2. Derivation: bā^Ca ~ mubtā^C mabī^C; kalaša ~ kulūšan.
4. Articles: These are difficult to account for: In l-mawlūd, the presence of the definite article seems redundant; on the other hand, in : bi-taman qadr=h one would have it before qadr=h.
5. Particles are unpredictable:
min: bā^Ca min seems to have changed context, it now replaces bi or li, as in min haqqi-h.
6. V deletion: wa .z-zari^C ... li-l-bā...
[I N V→∅ I N ...]
19. Borrowing is confined to lexical items.

The nearest document we have studied so far, in nature and in time, is the 1479 Cenete deed. The present deed reveals a stage further in the trend towards the disappearance of subordination and relativization. Moreover coordination with wa is less systematic, fa does not appear once in the text. The level of borrowing remains low.

As we mentioned previously, Pedro de Alcalá provides a most valuable account of the vernacular spoken in the kingdom of Granada:

"for my prime aim is to speak and teach the idiom of the common people and not the beauties of Arabic grammar..." (1)

"My intention was to produce a glossary of the common speech used by the people in this kingdom of Granada..." (2)

It is at the phonemic level that his contribution is the greatest. As a self-tuition method the "Arte" or "Art of

1 "porque mi intención principal es hablar y enseñar la lengua de la gente común y no los primores de la gramática arábica"... Arte

2 "mi intención fue hazer vocabulista de la habla común e vsada de la gente deste reyno de Granada..." Vocabulista

Acquiring Some Knowledge of the Arabic Tongue" (1) is unique. The texts, however, were written with the aim of evangelizing the Arabic-speaking population and, therefore, they illustrate a particular style, a choice which discards irrelevant patterns and lexical items that would detract from its prime purpose. Pedro de Alcalá's works reproduce the Granadan dialect, but only a peculiar usage of it. The corpus retained is an attempt to avoid the limitations for our study of overtly doctrinal passages, with the exception of the Lord's Prayer (2) given in the appendices with other Arabic versions for those interested in this aspect of Comparative Linguistics. The texts are bilingual: Arabic and Castilian. Both versions are given, as they appear in the original to assess similarity in the underlying structures. For the sake of clarity, paleographic abbreviations have been dispensed with, in the Castilian translation; the Arabic is quoted faithfully. We refer the reader to comments made at the beginning of this section following a similar case of Arabic transcribed in Roman script.

1 Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arabiga
(1501) Granada.

2 Torres Palomo (1971:40): "There is a very marked tendency to classicism in prayers even when they are in dialect.

1. Al má'alem ya'além al aulíd
[I N V N] El maestro enseña a los mocuelos
[I N V I N]
2. Aní nínnaqquí agími'e la callá
[N V N I? N] Yo alimpio la yglesia por la missa
[N V N I N]
3. Aní ná'ati al hobc lifulín
[N V N I N] Yo do el pan a fulano
[N V N I' N]
4. qoq hobc
[V N] Trae pan
[V N]
5. Aní na'amél a cundúq bal caydún falgo~~fa~~
[N V N I N I N] Yo hago el arca con la açuela en la camara.
[N V N I N I N]
6. Al hobc aledí nacúlu
N [N V] El pan que comemos
N [N V]
7. Ax equélt aliém
[I V N] Qué comiste hoy
[N V ?]
8. Ax ente ta'amél feme yinne cafát açallá
[I N V [I V N]] Qué hazes ay que acabada es la missa
[N V ? [I V N]
9. liénne al faquí aledí iconfessar
[I N [N V] porque el confessor es
[I N V]
húet bahal atabíb aledí ydaguí a
[NV-ØI N N [N V] el cirujano que sana las llagas
giráh mitál calb. Fa alehu majoroh
N I N [I I N N]
yahtír yaurí giráhu i?atabíb yquínid
V [V N N] [I I I]
yxebéh mé nuhuz fa yan al
[I I]
majoróh yaqbi giráhu min alledí
N V N I N]
I N V [N V]

*I-29 means I or "Arte", chapter 29.

ydağúh quif yeqdér yxebéh menuhum.
V N] I V I N]

10. A'amélt énte áu amart li háde
[V N [I V I N]
énne yeqhén fi hácat qui yengebér xei
[I V I (N) V N
macurug áu mundí]
I]

11. Aḡtárt náhar muméye' liharáqtaq
[V N N I N
au li cáfáraq áu ticaddáq enne alayim
I I N I I N
culla ha guáhiḡ la rógal
N N I]

12. Al amr aténihu le taḡlef izmi
[N V→∅ [I V N
allah fal bátil.
N I N]]

13. Ad mánéit fi cálbaq al máut
[V I N N
li háde.
I N]

14. Cequét al haq fi díq alguáq
[V I I N
falledí quin guigíb a'alig enne
[I N V I [I
tixhéḡ alhaq.
V N]]

- 1 from I: "Breve colación para clérigos".
2 from I: "Siguele las interrogaciones".

al cirujano no podra dellas ser sano. (1)
N I V N V

Mandastes hazer o fezistes algunas
[V] [I V]
adivinancas para hallar alguna cosa
N [I V N
hurtada o perdida]]]

Escogistes un día más que otro para
[V N I N [I
comencar alguna cosa o pa caminar
V N] [I V]]

El segundo mandamiento es no juraras el
[N N V [I V
nombre de tu señor en vano.
N I N I N]]

Cobdićíastes la muerte a alguna persona
[V N N
en vuestro corazon.
I N]

Callastes alguna vez la verdad a
[V N N [I
sabiendas donde o quando convenía
V→∅ [I V
hablar (2)
[V]]]]

Translation:

1. The master teaches the boys.
2. I clean the church for mass.
3. I give the bread to *somebody*.
4. Bring (some) bread.
5. I am making a box with a chisel? in the room.
6. The bread we eat.
7. What did you eat today?
8. What are you doing there, that mass is over?
9. Because the confessor is (like) the surgeon that heals the wounds. Since he who is wounded must show his wounds to the surgeon if he wishes to be cured. For if the injured conceals his wounds from the surgeon, he will not be healed.
10. (If) you ordered or cast spells to find some lost or stolen thing.
11. (If) you chose a day rather than another to start something or set out (on a journey).
12. The second commandment is Thou shalt not take (swear by) the name of thy Lord in vain.
13. (If) you wished somebody dead in your heart.
14. (If) you held back the truth, knowing where and when you should have spoken.

In the author's transcription:

c	stands for	ع /s/
gi, ge		ج /ğ/ + vowel
gua		و /w/
ca, cu		ق /q/ or /k/
x		ش /š/
qui, que		ك /k/ or /q/

For further phonological considerations on Alcalá, Corriente (1977) may be consulted.

Feature analysis:

1. SVO, with a more conservative order retained in embedded clauses.
2. Derived RRR forms: giráh, majoroh; má'alem, ya'alem.
3. Case ending morphs: nil.
4. Expanded use of the article: bahal aṭabíb (9); a- is the article which is redundant in the pattern hal x (tabib) and in fal bátil (12): fí l-bátil.

5. Particles occur in new environments: (see also 14)

amart li háde enne
[V I N [I]]

6. $V \rightarrow \emptyset$. Al amr aṭenihu le taḳlef.
[N V $\rightarrow \emptyset$ I V]

7. Coordination is marked by fa, rather than by the usual wa.

8. V'an becomes V enne.

amart li háde enne yeghén
[V I N [I V]]

9. to 13. not in text.

14. Relativization is expressed by aledí, alledí, but note the innovations min alledí (9), falledí (14).

al hobe aledí nacúlu
N [N V]

17. lā V becomes le V; see 6.

19. There is only 1 item borrowed from Castilian: confessar, we suggest that the preceding i is an adaptation of the imperfective: ya-V.

Convergence with Castilian

Word order in both varieties is isomorphic in all but the complex subordination patterns. Was this really the case in common speech? This implies a convergent deep structure for the two varieties. Or is Alcalá "construeing?" The appearance of personal pronoun subjects in Granadan Arabic (aní, ente) and less frequently in Castilian (yo) is unnatural and evidence that grammatical transparency had the priority over description. the co-occurrence of preposition/conjunction -alledí is an innovation and should be seen as a calque of Romance: preposition-gue.

Dialectal features

In common with "Bobadil's elegy", Alcalá shows the same na/ni V (imperfective) alternation:

nínaqquí	"I clean"
ná'ati	"I give"

The only divergent feature, met in the first text, is 7:

wa coordination.

huwa has become huet (9). This form occurs in al Qirbiliyānī.

Relexicalization

In the elegy, the dialectal form vix (bi ayy šay) "by what thing" meaning "in order that, to" and in Alcalá the dialectal form ax/aš/ (ayyu šay) "what thing" meaning "what?" are instances of relexicalization or change of status from N to I. The same process is also present whenever a specific I N string becomes I, that is functions as I. e.g. fi hácat "in order to" (example 10). Such a change is not unknown in Arabic, but in this particular instance is frequent in Grenadan dialect.

Another similarity in both texts in V'an/V enne pattern the deletion of the invariant of the embedded clause:

majoroh	yahtír	yaurí	giráhu
N	V	[Ø	V. N ...]

caused probably - on account of its presence in the "Elegy" - by a drift towards greater convergence in the underlying structure of the varieties in contact situation, rather than by a surface structure calque or syntactic borrowing.

What attracts the attention is the paraphrastic strings used by Alcalá to overcome the difficulty of translating the verb to be in the Present Indicative, absent in the Arabic surface structure. Comparing the two underlying structures:

Castilian

porque el confessor

[I N

"because the confessor..."

es el cirujano que sana las llagas

V N [N V N]

"is the surgeon that heals the wounds"

Granadan Arabic

liénne el faquí aledí iconfessar

[I N [N V]

"because the theologian who conf.

húet bahal atabíb aledí ydaguí a giráh

[N V→Ø I N N [N V N]

"he(is)like the surgeon that heals the wounds"

X is Y [that V]

X (N V)[N V-Ø Y][that V]

one is left with the impression that other criteria have priority over description once again. Nevertheless Alcalá is considered the most trustworthy source for the linguistic study of this dialect, with the added advantage that it is in Roman script.

Bartolomé Dorador is usually quoted together with Pedro de Alcalá. At the request of the Bishop of Guadix, he wrote or translated a catechism in Arabic which he completed in 1560. The main difference with the previous one is that it is written in the Arabic script and although it is in the Granadan vernacular, the author - according to Torres Palomo (1) - is frequently given to hypercorrection. Influenced by a knowledge of "Classical" Arabic, he sought to embellish his prose. The result either defeats its own purpose, creating deviant forms by false analogy or at best, where the "grammar" is correct the forms are still deviant, being inappropriate to the context. Apart from these misgivings, its usefulness is considerable as it complements Alcalá's works (i) confirming his description, (ii) providing the Arabic spelling to forms that appear in the earlier texts, and (iii) illustrating the dialect half a century later.

1 Torres Palomo M.P. (1971) PhD thesis, Granada.

By 1560, the phonological changes observed in the "elegy" had gone a stage further (1) with the loss of opposition between the following:

/ǵ/::/š/ and cluster /št/ being realized as [ǵ]

/s/::/ṣ/::/z/ , /d/:: /ḍ/:: /d̥/:: /z/

/m/::/n/ in syllable final.

/k/=[X]::/h/=[h̥] (1)

The surviving phonemic system given for convenience may be seen as such: (2)

Bilabial, Labiod., Dental to, Palato-a., Vel., Uv., Lab.-v., P.G.
Post-avl.

Plosive	b	t d	k g? (q)	(ʔ)
Nasal	m\$	n\$		
Fricative	f	t̥ (d̥)	š	k̥ (h̥) h
Trill		s (z) r	ǵ	
Vel-Phd.		(t̥d̥sz)		
Affricate		ǵ		
Approximant		y	w	

-\$ Initial position, see (1)(1) loss.

With regard to the features which have been the focus of this study, Palomo Torres discusses more particularly:

(Feature 3). The loss of case ending morphs, with the subsequent appearance of epenthetic vowels breaking up consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries. (3)

- 1 What had been blamed on the Roman script was in fact taking place in the dialect. The "elegy" itself presents us with an instance of /m/::/n/ neutralization in syllable final (see below); the letter illustrates the loss of gemination um::umm. The reduction of the crucial opposition + velar-pharyngalization is confirmed in Dorador: /t̥/~/t̥/ → ∅, /k/~/q/ → ∅.
- 2 For definitions, see IPA chart.
- 3 Torres Palomo (1971:33).

(F.4) The anomalous use and the systematic presence of the article, indicating possible convergency. Dorador uses the definite article before an N already defined by a following N component, and equally before an N indefinite by context.(1)

(F.5) The derivation of new particles from the base aš, seen in Alcalá and elsewhere, e.g. idaš, law-aš. As well as the extension of the domain of particle matā (2), indicating convergence in the underlying structure as it tends to coincide with the domain of Romance particle de.

(F.12) kamā V is expanding its use to include the idea of purpose, "in order to".

As for (F.14-15), she mentions the presence of both patterns. However, they may be replaced by 'an which acquires a new function and extends its domain.(2) A change one suspected in some of the sources consulted, without being certain about its reality.

One of the last documents we shall refer to in this section on Granada is the letter of Abenaboo, dated 964 AH, edited by Alarcón and translated by Alonso del Castillo.(3)

1 Torres Palomo (1971:43).

2 Ibid., p.45-46.

3 Alarcón (1915:693;752). HJB: There is some discrepancy about the date:

i) Castillo translates it as 964 AH 1557 AD, i.e. before the "Pragmática" and Rebellion.

ii) Mármol de Carvajal, a contemporary, includes it - with no date - another translation of the same letter with events under the stewardship of Don Juan of Austria and coinciding with the death of el Habaquí (July 1570) referred to in the letter (1942:349).

Using González Palencia (1931:48), we read the Arabic as year 78 or 978 AH 1570 AD.

iii) Torres Palomo in Samsó (1977:xix) confirms this date.

Al-ḥamdu li-llāh waḥda-hū qabla al-kilim.

a-salim l-karamū ^{l-karamū} 'ala man akram-hū sayidiyā wa-ḥabībī wa'azar aṭar
 'indayā dun hirnandū wa-nī na'lam ḥurmat-kum yina akin nta taqdar
 tiḡī 'indayā tiḡī 'inda aḡi-kum wa-ḥabibak wa-tiḡī muṭman wa-kul
 mayḡu-kum fi-malī wa-dīmatī wa-kin nta tirīd tatraṭal fidī l-mubrak
 mīn⁽³⁾ sulḡ kul mat'mal ta'malū ma'ī wa-nī na'mal ma'ak kul ma-tirīd
 bi-ḡaq wa-bila ḡadar wa-dahar-lī mīn⁽³⁾ l-ḡabaqī yina aš-ma-kin ya'mal
 ma-'lamni wa-la-ṭala' nī 'ala ḡaq wa-dahar-lī yina aš-ma ṭal-b ṭalab
 li-ruḡū wa-li-nisū wa-la-shabū (1) wa-ba 'ar'ini (2) wa-diyiba anī
 ni'araf ḡurmatak bi-ḡada ašī wa-ḡurmatak a'mal alaḡī yaḡhar la-kum
 wa-'mal mayusliḡ ba-nasarā (1) wa-bīna wa-ašī yaḡḡī allāhu kayr
 baynina wa-takun ḡurmatkum a-sabab fi-ḡada 'asā wa-ḡmalni fi-
 faḡalikum yila aš kan ma'ī man yaktub-lī yila kin-kun katabti-la-kum
 kṭar wa-salamū 'abḡ-kumm (3) wa-raḡmatū allāhu wa-barakatū allāh.
 Kutīb l-ktib yawm a-tilīt fa-šahr (1) ūliyyū fi-'ām 64.(4)

———— = loan

Translation

Praise be to the one God! Before my message: ^{Noble}
 Noble greetings from he who bestows them! My Lord
 and friend, held in high regard, Don Fernando, may I
 inform Your Honour that if it is possible for you to
 come to me, come to your neighbour and friend in peace/
 safety and whatever you encounter in my business (is)
 under my protection and if you wish to negotiate the
 blessed peace, all that you undertake you will have to
 do with me and I shall do all you want, fair and square.
 It seems to me, concerning el Habaqí that what he was
 doing, he did without my consent, hiding the truth and
 what he asked for, he did for himself, his family and
 friends, and now, I inform Your Honour, about this
 matter in this fashion. May Your Honour do what seems
 fitting to you, between the Christians and us, and thus,
 may God grant what is best for us (both) and may Your
 Honour be the cause of it, perhaps!

- 1 la for^{li}, ba for bi, fa for fi. Also in Alcalá I, e.g. fal, bal (1st stage). nasarā in Ms.
- 2 HJB: doubtful reading, possibly ba-'āraf "acquaintance".
- 3 sic.
- 4 ed. Alarcón (1915:706). See previous notes, and Arabic original.

Previously observed changes:

i) Loss of gemination, with the exception of ūliyyū, a loan and probably allāh. Loss of emphatic consonants (velar or pharyngalized c.) ḡahar for zahar, nasarā for naṣārā, yaqḡī for yaqḡiya.

ii) Permutation of /l/ and /r/:

tatratal, a hybrid form consisting of ta_A- tratar_{Sp}

iii) The frequent use of pronoun subjects (anī, nta) is consistent with Alcalá, defeats, in part, the argument that his Arabic prose was "construed".

iv) New particles derived from aš: ašma, ašmakin.

New changes:

i) The appearance of 3 consonant clusters in the phonemic chain is a significant departure from Arabic: kin nta, kun ktar.

ii) Morphemic boundaries are fuzzy: e.g. mayḡu-kum, mayuslih and we agree with Alarcón that in some cases ma- stands for mā (N) component which has become an affix identical in form to ma-R R R (participle). For instance: kul_Nmat_Nmal_V

iii) There are two other new morphs: -ū, which Alarcón sees as a further stage in the process -at--- ah----- -ū.

and -yā, a latter stage of -ī "me/my". Thus -lī but īndiyā.

We have reservations as to the phonetic realizations of these forms. Was there a new phonological process at work as Alarcón suggests bringing about the occurrence of stressed vowel in word final position, reversing the trend so far?

Or was it a spelling device? A means of indicating the presence of the vowel: i.e. hirnandū, stressed on the penultimate syllable. Compare Al-ḡamdu and waḡda-hū. Neither Alcalá

nor Dorador mention these innovations.(1)

Feature analysis:

1. Word order flexible, with S V O even in nested clauses, the last stage in a V S O to S V O change:

yina akin nta taqdar
[I [I N V]...]

2. Derivation:

ta'malū ~ a'mal ~ 'mal ; yaktub ~ katabti ~ kutīb ~ ktib

5. See iv) above, as well as akin, kin "if", cf. yquin (Alcalá).
6. There are no instances of V deletion.
7. Systematic coordination is marked by wa.
8. V'an becomes V yina:

na'lam ... yina ... tiġi 'inda aki ...
V [I V I N]

13. See above ii), new changes.
14. wa ħurmatak a'mal aledi yaḡhar
I N V Ø[N V ...]

Note the loss of the antecedent N.

16. Negation: ma-'lamni
[I V]

17. la-tala'ni 'ala ḡaq
[I V I N]

19. Loans are of 3 sorts: (a) Proper names, e.g. ūliyyū, borrowing the month but not the Christian year; (b) Invariants: ašī; (c) Hybrid: tatraṭal. This form affects the syntax, deleting the expected yina component establishing convergence towards Spanish.

1 With respect to the transliteration of this letter, we are attempting to reflect the underlying structure, at the morphemic level. For this reason, we are not adopting completely the transcriptions proposed by Alarcón and others framed with a different purpose in mind. We acknowledge their contribution.

The Coran Abreviado (1) marks a turning point in the contact situation. It is a short version of the Koran in Arabic followed by a bilingual Arabic/Aljamiado religious commentary, prayers in Arabic, and interspersing the work there are a few dated entries (1564 to 1584) relating to the family and other events by a certain Miguel de Zeyn, in Aljamiado. Here are some excerpts:

I) Arabic: (2)

179v. allāhu kayru ḥifẓan wa-huwa / arrḥamu erraḥimīna inna waliya / allāhu ellaḍī nazzala alkitāba / wa-huwa yatawallay aṭ-ṭaliḥīna (3) / ḥasbiya allāhu lā illāha ilā huwa / waʿalayhi tawakaltu wa-huwa / rabbu el ʿarṣi ilʿazīm.

II) Arabic and Aljamiado: (starting with Aljamiado as in Ms.)

22v. Laš rrebenensiyaš adalallāh / at-taḥiyātu li-llāhi
 [N V→Ø I N] [N V→Ø I N]
 laš kušaš linpiyaš šun adalallāh / az-zakiyātu li-llāhi
 [N V I N] [N V→Ø I N]
 luš buwenuš aš-šalaes / aṭ-ṭayibātu aš-šalawātu
 [N] [N V→Ø]
 sun ad-al-allāh ʿe-las-salām šiya (sea) / li-llāhi as-salāmu ʿalayka
 V I N I I N V I V] [N V→Ø I N]

Translation:

(____=Arabic loans)

- I) God, the best Recorder, the Merciful, the Compassionate, indeed, Ruler; God (who) sent down the Book; He is in possession of all things; He will look down at the time of reckoning. God, there is none but Him; I put my trust in Him. He is the Lord of the highest throne."
- II) (Aljamiado): All praise to God! Pure things are godly, so are true prayers. Peace be with you

- 1 Ms 5228 Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- 2 Apart from the Koranic text, there are a few prayers without translation or gloss. The one given is vowelised. We have no way, as with other religious works, of ascertaining to what extent it is representative of spoken varieties and scant use is made of them for this reason.
- 3 sic HJB: either (i) t-ll+hīna or (ii) ṣāliḥ: to make peace (see fol.23r), giving salihūna "peacemakers" as probable derivation.

اللَّهُمَّ خَيْرُ حَيْفِكَ وَخَيْرُ
 آتِ خَيْرِ الرُّقَى خَيْرُ الرُّقَى
 اللَّهُمَّ الْخَيْرُ خَيْرُ الرُّقَى
 وَخَيْرُ خَيْرِ الرُّقَى
 خَيْرُ الرُّقَى
 خَيْرُ الرُّقَى
 خَيْرُ الرُّقَى



مفلا... خَيْرُ الرُّقَى

*Par la création
qui nous a donné*

بَرَكَاتِكَ خَيْرُ الرُّقَى
 آتِ خَيْرُ الرُّقَى

لَسْتُ بِأَمَانِيَّتِي سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُ

الْمُتَّحِيَاتُ لِلَّهِ

لَسْتُ بِكَاشِفِي لِنَفْسِي سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُ

الزَّكَايَاتُ لِلَّهِ

لَسْتُ بِوَانِيَةِ الْفُلَانِ

الْمُطْلِقَاتُ الْمَلَرَاتُ

سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُ السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ

لِلَّهِ السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ

مُتَبَرِّاتُ يَا نَبِيَّ الْبَيْدَةِ يَا اللَّهُ

أَيْهَا النَّبِيُّ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ

šubre tu y-el-an-nabī i la-piyadaḍ del-llāh/

ayyuhā an-nabīyyu wa-raḥmatu el-llāhi

23r. i-šu al-baraka 'el-as-salām šiya šubre nnuš /

wa-barakātu-hu as-salāmu 'alaynā

i-šubre luš šiyerbuš de allāh luš buwenuš/

wa 'alā 'ibādi illāh iṣ-ṣālihīna

Faḡu teštiḡu ke-nu-ay šeñur šinu allāh /

ašhadu an lā illaha ilā allāh

šuluḥ ke-nu-ay parseru al-'el / waḥda-hu lā šarīka la-hu

i-faḡu teštiḡu ke muḥammad 'eš šu šiyerbu/

wa-ašhadu anna muḥammad 'abdu-hu

23v. i-šu menšaḡeru 'enbiyuluḥ kun-la-ḡiya iladdīna /

wa-rasulu-hu an sala-hu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn

de-la berdaḍ pur demunštarar-lu / il ḡaqqi li-yaḡhira-hu (1)

šubre la d-dīn tudu / 'alā al adīn ? k--li-hi

aunke peše a-lus deškereyenteš. /

wa-law akina?alamu--ir ?kuna ?. (2)

Translation

and with the Prophet! - May the Mercy of God and His peace be with us, and with the true servants of God! I bear witness that there is no Lord but God, alone, for He has no partner. I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. God sent him with the guide of the true faith to teach it, the whole Message, despite the unbelievers.

1 /d/ for /z/ Z-H-R "IV. demonstrate".

2 illegible through wear. law Kin al mumun kuna?

اَشْهَدُ اَلْبَرَكَاةَ السَّلَامَ نَسِيبَ شَيْبَرَانَسْرَ
 وَمِنْ رَحْمَتِكَ السَّلَامَ وَمَوْلَانَا
 اَشْهَدُ السُّرُشِيَانِ بِشُحْدِ اَللّٰهِ لَشُرْبُوَانَسْ
 وَتَعْلَمُ بِبَادِ اَللّٰهِ الْمَكْرُوبِ
 فَقَدْ تَشْتَرُكَ طَائِفَتَانِ شُرْبُوَانَسْ اَللّٰهُ
 اَشْهَدُ اَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اَللّٰهُ
 شُحْدَ طَائِفَتِ بَرَكَاةَ اَنَارِ
 وَحَمْدِكَ لَا تَشْتَرُكَ لَتَهْ
 اَقْبُ تَشْتَرُكَ طَائِفَتَانِ شُرْبُوَانَسْ
 وَاشْهَدُ اَنْ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُكَ

لَمَّا شَجَرَ أَنْبِيَاكَ لَكَ غِيَا الدِّينِ
 وَرَبُّكَ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ خِيَالَهُ وَدَعَا
 دَ الْبَارَةِ دَ بَكَرَةِ الْفُتُورِ
 الْبَحْرِ الْفُتُورِ الْفُتُورِ
 شَأْنُ الْفُتُورِ الْفُتُورِ
 دَ الْفُتُورِ الْفُتُورِ
 الْفُتُورِ الْفُتُورِ
 وَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى الْمَلِكِ الْفُتُورِ
 لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ خِيَالَهُ وَدَعَا
 دَ الْبَارَةِ دَ بَكَرَةِ الْفُتُورِ

III) Aljamiado:

1. memurya a-mi miġel de zeyn de-kumu merke un-maġu de-ġranada
kustandu eškire uġu de-mayu amu de mil i-kinye-ntuš i-šetenta
i-kuwatri. (1) fol.1r.

2. para la-kiriyatura ke mmuču pulura yeš-kiribe-le eštā
adu^ca. fol.178r.

3. memurya de lu-ke duy a-mi-hiġa la-mayur enbezeš tiyene
šeys reales maš-le-di eštandu šu-maridu malu (2) maš-le-di
una ġallina (2) maš-le-di una fane-ġa de tiri-ġu. fol.1r-v.

4. nasiyu mi-fiču muḥammad de zeyna a-duze de šetiyenbre amu
de mil i-kinyentuš i-šešenta i-kuwatri al-kandariyu de luš
kirištyanuš ereġeš. fol.178v.

ibrāhim ... a-beyte i-đuš de ebreru (15-) šetenta i-yunu fol.24r
‘alī de panša ... a disdi-y-uču de nubiyenbere (15-) i-učenta.
fol. 24r.

mi-fiġu ... ‘isā... a-kinze de dżzyenbere. fol.177v.

‘alī ... a-dizšiyete de febreru diya-de luneš. fol.179r.

5. (unvowelled) al ḥamdu llāh tubimuš baškū de ramadan
al-saġeru de uytuberū. fol.24r (3)

_____ = Arabic loans

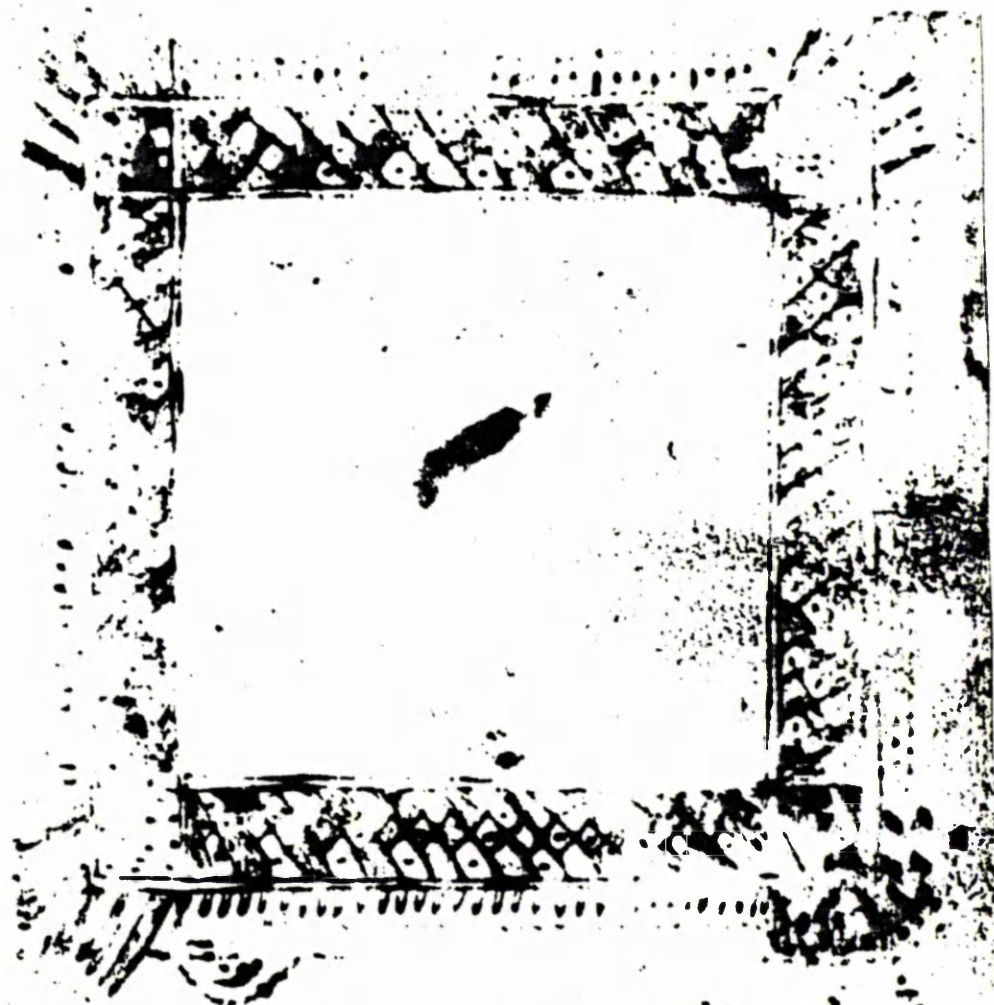
Translation

- 1 Record to myself, Miguel de Zeyn, in writing, of how I bought a ram from Granada. 8th May 1574.
- 2 For the baby that cries a lot, write this prayer.
- 3 Record of what I give to my eldest daughter at different times, 6 pieces of silver plus what I gave her when her husband was ill plus a hen plus a measure of wheat.
- 4 My son Muḥammad de Zeyna was born 12th September 1564, according to the calendar of the Christian heretics. Ibrahim...22nd February 1571, Ali de Pansa...18th November 1580, my son ‘Isā...15th December, Ali 17th February, Monday.
- 5 Thanks be to God! We had the feast of Ramadan at the end of October.

1 unvoweled, we read kustando eškire.

2 cryptic symbol: 66, 6666 6 = 1 real.

3 989-990 AH - 1582-1583 AD.



شید مج عیسوی ازا پنا آجشرا
 خاندان ازی پنا آت کایله اچینانستند
 المردانست الکندر و دالشیر شینستند

الحمد لله
 تبسمش بشطو خار مضر
 السخار دا ایتبار و

عینیه قلیب دایمستند آدشیدج دایمستند
 باریک دایمستند اچینانستند اچینانستند
 الکندر و دالشیر شینستند ازا پنا

Transcribing oral varieties into writing presents obvious difficulties, whatever the language; essentially because a script, including punctuation, is a considerably simpler system that exists in as much as it reflects what is common to most varieties and registers, yet sufficient to enable readers to recall the missing features, intonation, for instance. The totality of the accepted written forms is accepted as spelling. Any consistent departures from spelling, otherwise called "Error Analysis" are of interest to the linguist.

If he can detect the context in which they occur, he may have described in fact a rule borrowed from regional oral variety. When the speaker/writer is aware of this deviancy in his idiom, he attempts to correct it sometimes inappropriately with respect to the accepted body of rules. This phenomenon of compensation is generally known as hypercorrection (1).

In the first quotation and possibly in the second, the author is expressing himself in the most formal style seeking to equate it with his idea of "classical" Arabic. What attracts immediately one's attention, in view of the date: late C16, is the near complete retrieval of case morphs beyond all possible doubt as the text is vowelised. The appearance of /e/ - non-existent in formal Arabic - in free variation with /a/, at least in initial position, is one of these consistent departures from standard form.

1 Blau (1965:28) distinguishes between hypocorrect (not yet correct) and hypercorrect (correct, but not appropriate).

The second and last quotations illustrate the adaptation of a Romance dialect to the Arabic script. The process involves further complications which are solved graphically as follows:

- i) /e/ is expressed as: ē initial, ē elsewhere ≠ /a/: ā
- /o/ is expressed as: ū

More often than not there is no way of telling whether /o/ or /u/ is meant. This graphic ambiguity constitutes one of the major problems of the Aljamiado texts, that of establishing when the spelling can be considered phonetic and when not. From contemporary Christian sources (1) we know that the Moriscos spoke differently. Certain Aljamiado texts confirm that the Romance variety used is archaic in some respects compared to synchronic vernaculars. In their social isolation did the Moriscos consciously evolve diverging varieties from standard dialects, as a reflection of their cultural identity, and in what ways did this contrast from mainstream Romance? Without pretending to answer this question fully, the comments made in this chapter and the next should be seen as a contribution to this particular issue.

Returning to the opposition /o/-/u/, the choice of one or other in the transcription is random rather than consistent with Castilian usage.

- ii) The diacritic tašdīd or gemination is used for /p/, /ʎ/ and /ñ/. Thus "bb" for /p/, "ll" for /ʎ/ and "nn" for /ñ/.
- iii) The phonemic change that resulted in /x/ in Modern Spanish was in its final stages and the quotations reflect this fluctuation, either as /ç/ or "gg"/č/: menšağeru II 23v :: ereğeš III 178v :: fiču III 178v hīğa III 1r fiğu III 177v.

1 See Chapter 8.

iv) /g/ is represented by /ġ/ and once by /q/.

v) Epenthetic vowels. Aljamía literature is characterized by the systematic use of epenthetic vowels to break up consonant clusters normal in Romance and similarly consonants are introduced to avoid a hiatus.

deskereyentes II 22v :: descreer ?descreyentes

kiriyatura III 178r :: criatura

siya II 22v :: sea

Taking into consideration these conventions applied in the above quotations which can be interpreted as phonetic realizations and which can not?

i) "e" is in free variation with "a". The divergent spelling in I: arrhamu errahimīna confirms the phonetic nature of this departure. Poetry in Roman script does not record any confusion between /o/ and /u/ in Morisco speakers. This is a non-phonetic convention.

ii) The discrete nature /p/ and /ñ/ seem to have been fully captured.

iii) The fluctuation coincides with a similar state in Castilian and on that basis may be considered as a phonetic reality.

iv) The alternation of /ġ/ and /q/ for Romance /g/ may be reflecting Morisco speech, there is not enough data to reach a conclusion.

v) The status of this item is far from clear. The breaking up of clusters, diverging so obviously from the official language, can only be seen as a countercultural manifestation, exceeding the norm present in Alcalá and Abenaboo varieties of Arabic.

Whether the Aljamiado and Arabic notes in this manuscript illustrate a Granadan variety or not is questionable. The evidence is circumstantial:

- I) Reference to the purchase of an animal from Granada, fol.1r (against: it could be a breed).
- II) Money. Reales became standard coinage in Castile in 1497.(1)
- III) Dating. The use of the complete Christian calendar contrasts with Aragonese documents. Note the comment "Christian heretics", unlikely, we think, from a member of a long-standing Mudejar community.

In view of the substantial corpus of Aljamiado texts from the Kingdom of Aragon, could this manuscript be one of them?

Following the order given in Galmés de Fuentes's study of Aragonese interference in El Libro de las Batallas (2), dated C16, he enters 38 features. Only those present in the text are retained:

Aragonese:	Our text:	Presence Absence
2. VCC ---> VVCC viyence	merke	-
3. CC ^o ≠ ---> CC kuwand	kustandu, estandu, šešenta	-
4. VV ---> VyV siya, deskereyenciya	šiya, deškereyenteš	+
5. Vowel fluctuation i/e, i/a, e/a, u/o	Except for u/o case which cannot be solved	-
8. /l/ initial "ll" entender llo puede	de lu-ke	-

- 1 Mackay A. (1981)b, HJB: Aragon had a different coinage. Also Circourt (1846:II:Ap).
- 2 Galmés de Fuentes (1975:II:34ff).

9.	V ≠ eCC --→ V ≠ CC la-spada	yeš-kiribe-le eštā adū'a	-
11.	pl,cl,fl, initial survive	pulura	+
12.	/ly/ --→ "ll" fillo, millores	hīḡa, fiču, fiḡu	-
16.	/ct/ --→ /yt/ Furuyitas	uytuberū but uču, učenta	?
19.	Vd ≠ Vt piyadat	piyadaḡ berdad	-
22.	preposition + subject form of pers. pronoun a tú	sobre tu	+
33.	<u>haber</u> "to have" 3rd pers.sing.pres.ind. abe	ay	-
35.	preposition <u>a</u> --→ <u>ad</u> in front of V	ad-ahḡah but a-él	?
+ = same, -: different			Total 13

Conclusion:

Out of 13 features, 8 are negative, 2 can be interpreted either way. As for the positive ones, only feature 11 escapes discussion. Feature 4 may be considered as instances of epenthetic vowels and 22 as a simplification of the personal pronoun system with a generalized use of the subject form as an umbrella form. The possibility of this manuscript being of Aragonese origin seems remote. We include it tentatively in the Granadan corpus.

Feature analysis of the Arabic text:

With due regard to the religious character of excerpts I and II favouring invocations, that is elliptical or deleted patterns, we find:

1. VSO order.
2. One instance of R R R derivation: waliya yatawallay.

Is this feature still productive?

3. Case ending morphs:

kitāba, li-llāhi, 'ala 'ibādi, but ašhadu anna muḥammad ∅ together with other features: gemination and intolerance of large clusters (CCC), lost in everyday registers. The presence of these features predisposes the interpretation: it is archaic, conservative, formal, stilted, poetic according to the approach taken, in which the relative value of these and other features has been specified.

6. V deletion is the most frequent pattern.

lā šarīka la-hu
[I N V→∅ I N]

7. Coordination is expressed by wa only.

8. V'an expansion.

ašhadu an lā illahi ilā allāh
V [I V→∅ I N I N]]

However when these last two features are absent, comprehension is more difficult in that clauses boundaries are fuzzy:

as-salāmu 'alayka ayyuhā an-nabiyyu wa...
?[N V→∅ I N N]??] ? [I

In this case what is lacking is either clause boundary marks or intonation. The pause cannot be predicted, neither can the function of an-nabiyyu.

11. law V. One instance

14. Relativization is expressed by ellaḍi.

17. Negation by lā. See 6.

19. Romance borrowing: none.

Excerpt II, Aljamiado.

The identification of this variety presents very similar problems to those met in Maryam al-Mawwāq's letter. The

Aljamiado(1) is a word by word translation and when the equivalent to the concept cannot be found, then the Arabic term is borrowed or a new form is coined. The final result is a Castilian-Moorish admixture, with a Romance surface structure and an underlying structure almost identical to that of the Arabic model.

wa ašhadu anna muḥammad ʿabdu-hu

.i-faḡu teštiḡu ke muḥammad eš šu-šiyerbu

"I bear witness that M. is his servant"

"declaro, atestiguo, atesto, digo bajo juramento" are

Castilian equivalents to ašhadu, but not so faḡu teštiḡu.

This string is Aljamía, a counter cultural expression with specific religious associations.

.luš šiyerbuš de allāh luš buwenuš
noun adj.

The post position of this adjective is ungrammatical within a Romance model but acceptable in Arabic.

Hybridization (2) affects the surface structure in various ways, generating:

- i) Ar. stems + R. morphs: ṣalates
- ii) tautological borrowing: ad-al-allah: to the the God"
R. ? Ar.
al "the" common to Ar. and R.
- iii) neologisms: rrebenesiyaš, faḡu teštiḡu.

From a semantic point of view, this hybrid variety is characterized at times by a greater degree of ambiguity compared to the more specific Arabic model:

- 1 Aljamiado is a non-Arabic variety in Arabic script.
Aljamía is analysed in Chapter 8.
- 2 discussed previously, 7.4.1 Maryan al-Mawwāq's letter.

az-zakiyātu li-llāhi zākīy: "pure, chaste, guiltless,
blameless etc."
"Pure things are godly"

:: laś kuśaś linpiyaś šun ad-allāh

"clean things are godly".

In the linguistic continuum, we describe this variety of Aljamía as stage 2 (1), formal in style, closest to Arabic and farthest from Romance, used in a religious context, thereby distinguishing itself from excerpt III (Aljamiado) to be discussed in a later section, in Chapter 8.

It is difficult to measure the change from the period extending from the end of Al-Andalus to the final deportation from the lack of documents in comparable registers or styles. Much has been made of the comment in Abenaboo's letter that he had no one at hand to write his correspondence. This statement should not be taken to mean that Arabic was no longer written and hardly spoken. The last text illustrates more satisfactorily, we think, the situation:

- a) Written Arabic was used for prayer.
- b) Aljamía was used to record family events and business; it was creeping into the formal range as an alternative to written Arabic. That two doctrinal works were commissioned proves beyond doubt that the local uneducated population did not understand Spanish. A great number of letters and predictions addressed to the faithful and translated by Castillo indicate that Arabic letter-writing was still alive. Unfortunately nearly all the originals may be assumed to be lost.

1 See Maryam al-Mawwāq's letter at the beginning of this section, magnified section of Table 7.2.1.

7.4.2 Valencia

While the newly converted Moriscos of Granada were being harassed, the rights of the Moorish community, settled in Valencia, were confirmed by the parliamentary provisions of the Cortes of Monzón, in 1510:

"They shall not be deported nor banished from Valencia and its towns and country; nor shall they be compelled to become Christian; nor shall they be subjected to any restrictions whether in trade or in their dealings with Christians." (1)

The death of King Ferdinand in 1516 led to a period of strife that swept most of Spain. The city of Valencia was no exception. Recovering from a plague from which the upper social classes fled, ^{the burghers} attempted to settle old scores against the landowners. The conflict between town and country, craftsmen and nobility, soon acquired religious undertones. The city militias or germanías saw themselves as fighting the Infidel at home, since the landowners had drafted their Moorish subjects into the battle. Alas for the latter there were no competent leaders on their side and the rebels of Valencia held at bay the nobility and troops loyal to the king. 1521 saw the first mass conversions following closely behind the rampage and looting. Eventually the new king, Charles I, pacified the region. He took the view that the "conversion" was valid and that it was a matter for the Church to take the necessary measures to instruct these new Christians.

A sizeable number of Moslems left Valencia in 1523 as a result of this change of policy. (2) The Edict of 16th November

1 Circourt (1846:II:452).

2 Ibid., p.189,192. He quotes 5000. To practice Islam after "conversion" was to risk death and confiscation of property.

1525 closed the mosques and forbade Islamic ceremonies. A period of ten years was set after which the use of Arabic and Moorish customs would be illegal. However, surviving documents indicate that Arabic was written and spoken right through the sixteenth century and very probably up to the final deportation of the Moriscos in 1614.(1)

As previously, we refer to a selection of the deeds edited by Barceló, to illustrate the state of Arabic, in the region of Valencia, during the sixteenth century. The two first ones, considered together, are previous to the disruption caused by the germanías. The hint about leaving, in the letter, reveals a general state of unease.

I. Doc. 149, dated 1511: Witness's account. (2)

wa-anna sâ'at wuṣūl=h min balansiyat ilā balad ġabal l-kubrā waqafa 'alā 'atīq l-maḍkūr wa qāla la-h ṣihr ġirūnī qusalbuḥ yurīd min-k tab'at la-h l-qurasat llatī la-h 'inda-k 'ārīyat li-anna l-ḥāġat la-h fayran akīdatan faġāwaba-h 'atīq l-maḍkūr wa qāla la-h kull mā qāla la-k ṣihr ġirūnī qusalbuḥ ḥaqq lā kin aslaft -hā anā ilā 'abd l-karīm š-šātībī wa-laysa anā naqdur 'alā nqāda-hā min yad-h fa- 'abd s-salāma l-maḍkūr mašā ilā balad undarat wa ṭalaba-hā ilā 'abd l-karīm l-maḍkūr faġāwaba-h 'abd l-karīm wa qāla la-h qūl li-'atīq l-kinānī anna-h mā yaqdur yākuḍ l-qurasat min yayid (3) illā fī bunt s-sayf li-anna akī māta min aġl =h wa-anna 'atīq wa 'abd s-salām mašayā ilā balansiyat wa waqafā 'alā ṣihr ġirūnī qusalbuḥ ṣāḥib l-qurasat wa qāla la-h 'atīq l-margūb min-k tanzur mā turīd nu'tīq min darāhim fī l-qurasat li-annī aslaft -hā wa laysa anā naqdur 'alā radd =hā ḥ-yad-ay faġāwaba-h ṣ-ṣihr l-maḍkūr wa qāla mā nuḥibb fī-hā darāhim wa law

1 Cf. Labarta (1980).

2 Barceló Torres (1982:580ff).

3 HJB: sic: yadayya? yadī?

وإن ساعة وصوله من بلنسية إلى
 بلد جبل الكبير وقف على عتيق المذكور وقال له صهر جروني
 قسلبه يريد منك
 تبعث له القرسة التي له عندك عارية لأن الحاجة له فيها أكيدة
 فجاوبه عتيق للمذكور وقال له كل ما قال لك صهر جروني
 قسلبه حق لأن أسلفتها
 أنا إلى عبد الكريم الشاطبي وليس أنا تقدر على انقاذها من يده
 فعبد

السلام المذكور مشى إلى بلد اندرة وطلبها إلى عبد الكريم
 المذكور فجاوبه
 عبد الكريم وقال له قل لعتيق الكناني أنه ما يقدر ياخذ
 القرسة من يدي
 إلا في بنته الشين لأن أخي مات من أجله وإن عتيق
 و عبد السلام مشيا
 إلى بلنسية ووقفوا على صهر جروني قسلبه صاحب
 القرسة وقال له عتيق
 المرغوب منك تنظر ما تريد نعطيك من دراهم في
 القرسة لأنني أسلفتها وليس
 أنا تقدر على ردّها ليدين فجاوبه الصهر المذكور وقال له ما
 تحب فيها دراهم ولو
 عطيتني فيها عشرة دواقد ما قبلتها منك فانظر حيلة
 في روي ليدمي والذبح
 تقدر تعمل لك من كرامة نصير عليك شهرين تطلبها و
 تعمل مهادك في اخراجها
 في هذا الأجل وإن عتيق قال لعبد السلام نريد منك
 تمشي لصهر جروني قسلبه
 وتنظر إن كان تقدر على موافقتنا في القرسة و نعطيه
 ثلاثين طرنيجا فيها
 (لا في فجاوبه) فمشى عبد السلام لصهر جروني وقال له
 كل ما قال له عتيق فجاوبه النصراحي

وَقَالَ لَهُ قُلْ لِعَتِيقِ اِنِّي قَدْ قُلْتُ لَهُ مَا نَحِبُ فِيهَا دَرَاهِمُ
وَلَوْ عَطَانِي فِيهَا عَشْرَةُ دَوَاهِدِ
مَا اخَذْتُهَا مِنْهُ

نعم موكة كيف وقف علينا نصراني من شيشرونه وقال لنا ان
يعمل اذا جيز قدر للذين
تحتج ضيافتك يقال له اذطوني ابرؤوطثش ونحن نحد ثنا
معه على السوم و عطيانا
في الجيز على سوم القفيز على طرنج القفيز اقلبه وعلى شلد
عبر وهو قال ان كان ثنوي
ولكن يريد تشقرر لو اقدر الذي يعمل اما مائتين قفيز او
اربعة مائه او النذ او الذي
نريد وهو راضي يجي بخلص الى نفسه من كل ما يحتاج
ولا يريد تقدير ولا شيء
الا في الوقت الذي يكون معمول تذنن كما ذكر و
لكن يريد تعمل له براه من يدك
بالذين تشقرر له ومن خبر ان كان ضيافتك تريد تعمل رجا
اليوم والحمد لله لنا
ما كثير لعل له خمسون عاما لم يكون فيها (قدر) ما قدر
الذي اليوم هو وثر
عبوا من ضيافتك تظفر وتنصق لنا الملح والقبلييه واذا
تبي ان نشاء الله
نظرك: تفاقا و تيسوا في يدك و نزلوا من فكره من
برتير ومن حجة التوت
الورقه هي تطلب فتعرف كيف ان دون رذرقوا دي
يضمنط ارسل راجل
يطلبها الى الكرا فانت انظر ان كان تريد تكريها جوابنا
وان كان غير ذلك
[جوابنا] بالذي يظهر لك وان كان تريد تعطيها بالنص
ارسل [لنا...]
و نخدموكة قدر جهدنا واكثر

'atayt -nī fī-hā 'ašrat dūqad mā qabi-lt -hā min-k fa-nzur ḥīlat fī
 rahā (1) li-yaday wa alladī naqdur na'mal la-k min karāmat naṣbir 'alay-k
 šahrayn tatlub-hā wa ta'mal ḡahd =k fī ikrāḡ-hā fī ḥādā l-aḡl wa
 anna 'atīq qāla li-'abd s-salām nurīd min-k tamšī li-ṣihr ḡirūnī
gusalbuḥ tanzur in kāna taqdur 'alā muwāfaqat-nā fī l-gurasat
 wa nu'tiy =h ṭalātīna ṭurnīḡ fī-hā fa-mašā 'abd s-salām li-ṣihr
ḡirūnī wa qāla la-h kull mā qāla la-h 'atīq faḡāwaba-h n-naṣrānī
 \ wa qāla la-h qūl li-'atīq in-nī qad qult la-h mā nuḥibb fī-hā
 darāhim wa law 'atā-nī fī-hā 'ašrat dūqad mā aḡdat -hā min-h

Translation

_____ = loan

As he was reaching ḡabal l-kubrā (Tavernes) from Valencia, he stopped the said 'Atīq and said to him: -The son-in-law of Geroni Gosalbo wants you to send him the breast-plate that you have on loan because he needs it immediately? urgently.- 'Atīq replied: -All he (the son-in-law) told you is true, but I have lent it to 'Abd l-karīm el-Šāṭibī and I cannot get him to yield it.- So 'Abd is-salām went to Ondara to ask for it from 'Abd l-karīm who told him: -Tell 'Atīq el-Kināmī that he will only take it from me at the point of a sword, as my brother died on its account.- And 'Atīq and 'Abd is-salām went to Valencia to the son-in-law of Geroni Gosalbo, the owner of the breast-plate and 'Atīq said to him: -My request (is) that you consider what you want me to give you by way of money for the breast-plate, as I have lent it and I am not in a position to bring about its return.- The son-in-law replied: -I do not want money for it; even if you were to offer 10 ducats, I would not accept them. So see about finding a way to my retrieving it; what I can do as a favour is to let two months pass before claiming it and try your utmost to produce it in that time. And 'Atīq said to 'Abd is-salām: -I want you to go on my behalf to the son-in-law of G.G. and see what you can do as to my position (on my behalf) concerning the breast-plate. I shall give him 30 pieces (silver-tornes) for it.- 'Abd is-salām went to him and told him all 'Atīq had said. The Christian replied: -Tell 'Atīq that I told him I do not want any money for it. Even if he were to give me 10 ducats, I would not take them from him.

1 HJB: sic, probably " <> , " with a missing " > "

II. Doc. 150, dated 1513: Letter from Yahya Ya'qūb and the Aljama of Relieu to Don Gisbert d'Oms, their landlord. (1)

na'rifū-k kayf waqafa 'alay-nā naṣrānī min siṣūnah wa-qāla la-nā 'in
 [V [I V I N N I N]][I V I N [I
 ya'mal la-nā ġir qadr alladī tahtaḡ diyāfat=k yuqāl la-h antūnī
 V I N N N [N V N]][V I N N
 brū-tunṣi wa naḥnu taḥaddat-nā ma'a-h 'alā sawūm (2) wa 'aṭīnā-h fī l-ġir
][I N V I N I N][I V I N
 'alā sawūm l-qafiz 'alā turnaḡ l-qafiz aqlib =h wa 'alā šuld gubi : wa
 I N N I N N N I I N N][I
 huwa qāla 'in kāna šaway wa lakin yurīd tuṣuqrar law aqdur alladī
 N V][I V N][I I V [V [I V][N
 ya'mal immā mī iatayn qafiz aw arba'at mī 'iah aw alf aw llaḡī
 V I N I I][I N
 nurīd wa huwa rādī yaḡī bi-kallāšu ilā nafs -h min kull mā
 V][I N V [V I N I N I N][N V-
 yahtaḡ wa lā yurīd taqḡir wa lā šay illā fī l-waqt alladī yakūn
 N][I I V [V I I][I I N [N V
 ma'a mūl tadṣif (3) kamā ḡukira wa lakin yurīd ta'mal la-h
 I N] V] [I V][I I V [V I N
 barā'at min yaday-k bi- llaḡī tuṣuqrar la-h wa min kabār in kāna
 N I [I N V I N][I
 diyāfat=k turīd ta'mal raḥan l-yawm wa l-ḥamdu llāhi la-nā mā
 katīr li-'alla la-h kamsūna 'amā lam yakūn fi-hā mā qadr alladī
 l-yawm huwa nargabū min diyāfat=k tanzur wa tunṣif la-nā l-malḥ
 wa l-qabalīriyah wa idā taḡī 'in ša allāh nu'tūk matā'=k wa nabsū
 fī yadaykwa nuzūllū min fikr =h min bartīr wa min haḡḡat . t-tūt
 l-waraqah hiya taṭlub fa-ta'rif kayf anna dūn rudriḡū dī bīmunt
 arsal rāḡil yaṭlub -hā ilā l-kirā fa- nta nzur in kāna turīd
 takriy=hā ḡawāba-nā wa in kāna ḡayr dālika [ḡawāb-nā] bi- llaḡī
 yazḡur la-k wa in kāna turīd tu'tī -hā bi-nuṣf arsal ...(4)
 wa naḡdumū-k qadra ḡahd-nā wa aḡtar .

Let me inform you how a Christian from Jijona dropped in on us. He said that he would make us some lime in the amount Your Lordship needs. They call him Antoni Brotons. We discussed the price and offered for the lime in moulds, 1 piece (silver-tornés) per measure and in bulk, cash. He said it was little, but he wants

- 1 Barceló Torres (1982:586ff).
- 2 probably sūma to coincide with Romance suma "sum"
- 3 HJB: probably tansif.
- 4 tear.

you to vouch for the amount made, be it 200 measures, 400, 1000 or whatever we want. He agrees to supply at his expense what is needed without charging anything, but the moment it is done, concerning the money, you pay him as stated, but he wants written confirmation in your hand in which you sponsor the work.

By the way, if Your Lordship agrees to building a mill now - May God bless you for it! - the level? (of water) has never been as high and in this quantity in the last 50 years as today. We beg Your Lordship to consider paying us for the salt and the mounts and when you come - God willing! - we shall give you your due and kiss your hand, and give up the idea of leaving. As for the matter of the mulberry (trees), the leaf is in demand as Don Rodrigo de Beaumont sent someone to take a lease on it. See if you want to lease it, let us know, if otherwise tell us what you have in mind; if you want to lease half, send us... We are your servants in the measure of our possibilities and more.

The two texts complete each other, as I is in direct speech and II is a factual letter.

Feature analysis

- | | | | |
|-----|---|----------|-----------|
| 1. | Word order: V S O, but more instances of S V O in I | <u>I</u> | <u>II</u> |
| | sihr ... yurīd min-k tab ^{at}
[N V I N [V]] ^I | flexible | + |
| 2. | RRR derivations: | + | + |
| 3. | Case ending morphs: (∅ in <u>Vocabulista</u> Cl3.) | - | - |
| 4. | Redundant article: <u>l</u> -qurasat llatī | + | - |
| 5. | Particles: b ^t used with <u>la</u> is an innovation I | + | + |
| | as in zll " " <u>min</u> | II | |
| 6. | V deletion: | 1 case | + |
| 7. | <u>wa</u> [---] <u>fa</u> [---] coordination | + | + |
| | fa-nzur I fa-ta ^r if II
[I V] [I V] | | |
| 8. | V ^r an | - | - |
| 9. | V li V: This Valencian feature has disappeared. | - | - |
| 10. | Not in texts. | - | - |
| 11. | We find this odd string in II: | + | + |
| | tušugrar <u>law</u> aqdur | | |

	I	II
12. Kamā V:	-	+
13. Relativization: mā V: kull mā qāla li-k ṣihr I N [N V I N N]	+	+
min kull mā yaḥtāḡ I N [N V]		
14. alladī V	+	+
15. llatī V	+	-
16. Negation: mā V	+	+
17. lā V	-	+
18. lam V	-	+
19. Romance borrowing is restricted to lexical items used as slot fillers for N components, with the exception of tuṣuqrar, a hybrid form: tu (Ar.) + V, where V is Romance <u>a-segurar</u> and bartīr <u>partir</u> .	+	+
	12?	13

Although both texts offer a high number of present features, there are others which escape the grid, for instance:

- i) The appearance of pronoun subjects observed in Granadan Arabic (cf. Alcalá, Abenaboo).
- ii) The loss of the invariant in V an strings seen previously as well (cf. Elegy, Alcalá).

I. ṣihr ... yurīd min-k tabʿat ...
[N V I N [V ...]]

II. lā yurīd taqdīr
I V [V]

- iii) Common to P. de Alcalá (1), we find alladī after (I), which diverges from the usual (N) alladī, but converges with Romance con lo que, por lo que, pointing to a relexicalization N → I. The absence of the antecedent N supports this view.

II. ḡawāb-nā bi-alladī yazḥur
V [N V ...]

iv) na+ V in both texts and the use of I (kayf) are features still present in Maghribi dialects.

V. With reference to point (iii) llatī seems to be a hyper-correction where the loan antecedent is assumed to be feminine, which it is in Romance but not in Arabic, i.e. sayf espada

"sword". l-qurasat llatī la-h
 N N V→Ø I N

Since we referred to missionary texts in Granadan Arabic, we should mention the Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Aráviga y Castellana written for the newly converted of the Kingdom of Valencia, which appeared in 1566 and is sometimes associated with the name of Don Martín de Ayala, who patronized the work.(1) The effort has been seriously criticized in modern times by Ribera as little more than gibberish (2). He qualifies this statement by saying that the work does retain some value, provided it is used as a glossary, that is, as the basis of a lexical study of this vernacular. For the author translated the Spanish original, word by word, into its Valencian Arabic equivalent, with the resulting incongruity. Perhaps this judgement is too severe. On the one hand, this is a rather bookish approach, if used consistently, for translating the Liturgy into the very "inferior" but lively common speech. On the other hand, we refer the reader to the Appendix for The Lord's Prayer. Where the Ayala version departs from Alcalá, it is often close to the Maltese version; however, owing to the method of translation as explained by the author (3), the Arabic text lacks the rigour of Alcalá. For this reason, coupled with the limitations associated with doctrinal works

1 Roque Chabás ed. (1911) Valencia.

2 (1911:vi) Introduction: "calco disparatado e ininteligible.."

3 Roque Chabás (1911:24).

for the study in progress, we shall not refer to it further, except to confirm phonological change.

The last 2 or 3 illustrations that complete the sample of Valencian Arabic in the years leading up to the final deportation of the Moslem communities, are an agreement and correspondence:

III. Agreement as to the settlement of a ransom, dated 1587 (1).

IV. Correspondence. Momblanch collection, dated 1595-6 (2).

III mimu-r-ya wa bayan min alaḍi huwa ya-h-raṭar sulayman ban
 [N I N [I N N V N
 muḥumad ban alamin sulay-man almi - dwar huwaya-ḥti sulayman ban
 N] [N V N
 muḥumad ilā sulayman al midwar-mitay tur-niḡ qaṣ-til-yanuṣ fi yaṣ
 I N N] [I N
 yakriḡ ilā waladu 'ala haḍ al-wakla min a-nahar huwa-ya-ḥti-h
 V I N I N] [I N N V
 alq-ṭa'a huwa-ya-ti-h ṣa-hray min amad wakn asya kmal la-hum yaḥti-h
 N] [N V N I N] [I I I V I N] [V
 alaḡna-tay 'ala ṭaman qul ṭuman ṭala - ta 'aṣr raṭl waḥiḍa huwa al-ḥaq
 N I N N N] [I N N V-∅ N]
 wa ba'd al-ḥaq as-fi-ha ilā aḍalal wa-raḡibu ilā-ya aḥmad a-sakan
 [I I N I I N V-∅ I N] [I V I] [N
 katabt bay-na-hum biraḍā aḡini-bay wa sar 29 yam min ṣahr ṣuta-nbar
 V I N I N N]
 alaḍ min 'am haḍ 1587. ṣahad muḥumad al-qaḡun...

_____ = Romance lexical item

===== = hybrid form

Translation

Record and statement in which they? - Sulayman bnu Muhumad and Sulayman al Midwar - settled upon the following: he, Sulayman bnu Muhumad gives to Sulayman el Midwar 200 pieces (of silver - Castilian torneses), with them? to free his son, upon this authorization; from the day he gives him the money, he gives him a period of two months (to do so). If the money should not be enough, he offers him two orchards for the total value of 13 pounds?. This is the truth. Apart from it, there is nothing but falsehood and I, Ahmad el Sakan, was asked and I wrote (this) for both and they agreed to the contents. This was 29th September of this year 1587. (The following) bear witness, Muhumad el Qaḡun...

1 Labarta (1980a:115-117).

2 Docs. 270 and 212. Barceló (1982:656-7, 703-5). Doc. 270 has been previously edited and analysed by Harvey (1971:81-103).

VALENCIA Docs. Memoria (a)
 Labarta (1980a:115)
 Doc. 270 (b)
 Harvey (1971:81ff)
 Doc. 212 (c)
 Barceló Torres (1982:656)

يَمُ زِي وَ بَيْنَ مِنَ الَّذِي هُوَ يَهْ رَطْر
 سُلَيْمَنُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ آلَيْنِ سُلَيْمِ
 مِنَ الْقَمَرِ دَوْرَ هَوِي حَقَّ سُلَيْمَنُ بْنُ
 مُحَمَّدَ إِلَّا سُلَيْمَنَ إِلَّا مَذْذُورِيَّةَ يَ تَر
 نَ حِ قِشْرَ بِلَ يَنْشُرَ فَبِ يَنْشُرَ يَخْرُجُ
 إِلَّا وَلَدُ عَلَ هَذَا الْوَكْلَ مِنْ أَنْهَرَهُ
 يَ حَيْثُ أَلَّ طَعَّ هُوَ يَ يَهْ شَ
 هَرِي مِنْ أَمْدَ وَكُنَ أَسَى كَمَلُ لَهُمْ
 بَحْنَةُ الْجَنِّ تَيَّ عَلَ نَمْنُ قُلُ نَمْنُ
 نَلُ تَعَضَّرَ رَطْلُ وَهَذَا هُوَ الْحَقُّ وَ
 يَهْدُ الْحَقُّ أَسْفَهُ إِلَّا أَذْلَلُ وَرَغِبُ
 إِلَّا يَ أَحْمَدُ أَسْكَنَ كَتَبَهُ يَ يَهْ
 يَرْضُ أَجِنَ يَ وَ سَر - 29 يَم مِنْ

شَهْرُ شَهْرَ تَبْرَ أَلَدَ مِنْ عَمِ هَذَا — 1587

شَهْدُ مُحَمَّدَ الْأَجِنِ

شَهْدُ أَسْكَنَ إِبْرِيْدَ

شَهْدُ سُلَيْمَنَ أَرْحَ

(a)

فَنَسَلُ قَبْرَ أَشْطَا قَلِي يَكُونُ فِيهَا وَكَمْ لَهَا تَعْمَلِي
 وَفِي الصَّامَةِ نَسَلُهُ لَكَ أَوْ نَجْعَلُهُ فِي الطَّبْلِي مَا بَلَسِيَا وَنَرِ
 سَلَكُ سُدِّي مِنْ بَهَا لِنَسَرِ إِنْ أَقْشَطُشْ مَتَّعَ يَكُونُ كَلِشِي
 وَإِنْ كُنَ يَكُنُ فِيهَا بَبْ مَقْطَعُ لَذِكُ الشَّيْ عَنْ إِنْ
 أَنِي تَعْمَلُكَ كَمْ تَعْمَلِي (b)

سيد شكري عزك الله اني قمت على يدين ختني جرمي

صبا ارطل و خنطع [نسر]

شكلا هذا 7.15.0 آخره البرطيدت ام يحطني شي
 اقبل اليام كيكون كتبتلك في شغل الكري و من سباب
 ان اسفيا [...]

مسن مرطبي ام نكتبتلك قبل اليام في عون من الله حيث
 نربر [...]

يكون شغل كثير طيبه . ختني جرمي يحدتك اشط اني
 بكون ليا

قبطاد تخير الى سيدتك في الذي يكون فيها او نمشي
 اني لعند يسيلتك

ولزيد انا السلم عليك من بني رطبا في 17. من شهر
 يناير عام 1576

الى الذي تمرني

لوش العازمي

(c)

Quoting briefly Labarta, this is what she has to say on this particular text. She draws attention to the loss of word boundaries and more specifically to the following points:

- . Loss of quantity: e.g. alamin (al 'amīn), haḍ (hāḍā).
- . Gradual loss of pharyngalized consonants: e.g. yaḥt (ya'ṭy), aḍalal (aḍ-ḍalāl) or hesitation: qul(kullu)
- . Loss of initial glottal stop.
- . Loss of gemination.
- . Loss of final n, in dual morphs: -ay (-ayn)
- . Reduction of diphthong aw to a: yam (yawm)
- . Use of huwa as "dummy" pronoun.
- . Use of ilā for li, converging with Romance a él.
- . Use of verb kān with a conditional value deriving from /in-kān/
- . Use of as to mark negation.

The breaking up of the triliteral root system, a key feature in our framework and the resulting loss of identity: e.g. alq ṭa'a, fi yaš yakriḡ would indicate that a significant change has taken place. We see this stage as the last before the Arabic script came to be used to convey Romance and the occurrence of the hybrid form ya=h-ratar (ya:Ar.+ tratar:R. non-finite V component) as a symptom of this trend. In fact, with the exception of Labarta's last two remarks, which refer to the appearance of two new forms, the rest may be seen as reflecting a general drift towards convergence with Romance. The last features are absent or in free variation, and therefore non-pertinent in Romance. Finally, we think, on the basis of the Doctrina's transcription, that ilā and yam were realized as [ile] and [yem]. The difficulty is to assess whether we have a new phoneme or to what extent this phone had spread and the contexts in which it occurred.

The feature analysis will appear together with that of the last text.

IVa. Doc. 270. (1)

fa-tarsal qurriw a-buštā fa-lī yakūn fī-hā
 [IV N] [I V I N]
 wa-kam la-hā tan'aṭā / wa-fī aṣ-ṣa'ā narsala-h la-k aw naḡ'ala-h
 [I I I N V] [I I N V I N] [I V N]
 fī aṭ-ṭablā matā balansiyā wa nar / salla-k sidulā min bi-hā
 I N I N] [I V N N I I N]
 li-nifasar inna aquṣṭiṣ mata'i yakūn kulli-šī / wa in kin yakun
 I N [?I N I N V N] [I I V]
 fi-hā bib maftuḥ li-dik aṣ-ṣay 'an inna / anī qaṭa'ti-la-k kam
 I N N I N] [? I N V . [I
 taḥṭī ...
 V ']]

b. Doc. 212, dated 1596.

sayid šuqr-ī (2) 'azza-k allāhu anī qabat 'alā yadayn katan-ī
 ḡirunī sabā'a arṭal wa kams ... (3) šulde haḍ 7.15. al-kurah
 al-bartīṭ am yaḥṭi-nī šay aqbal al-yām ki-yakūn katbat-lak
 fī šuḡul al-kirī wa min sabāb 'inna as-fī-hā...masalā sirtiya 'am
 naktub-lak qabl al-yām fī 'awn min allāh ḥinat nazbiru...(3)
 yakūn šuḡul kitir ṭayib. katan-i ḡirunī yaḥaddat-ak aṣaṭ anī
 yam ... (3) quyizādu naḵbir 'ilā siyaditak fī allaḍī yakūn
 fī-hā aw naḡsī anī li 'anda siyad .. wa li-ziyad 'illā as-salam
 'alay-ik min banī razā fī 17 min šahr yinir 'ām 1596 ilā
 allaḍī tamarn-ī luwiš al-ḡāzī.

Translation

- a. Send, then, a courier by the post; "put him in the picture" (let him know) how much is required and I shall send it to you soon or put in the "bank" of Valencia. I shall send you a statement that the costs are all mine, if there is a way out in this matter as I have spent all you gave me...
- b. My Lord (and) Father-in-law, May God strengthen you! I have received from Geroni, my brother-in-law, 7 pounds and ... coins, i.e. 7.15., the remainder of the share as

1 Harvey (1971:202).

2 HJB: hybrid form or loan: šuqr + -ī

3 BT: wear or tear R. Ar.

to that (which) you are giving me. I would have written to you before (but) because there is nothing sure about the renting, I have not done so. With the help of God, we are arranging...it is a very good thing. My brother-in-law Geroni will tell you about it at greater length. I shall take care to inform you, My Lord, about it or to come and (see) you. Nothing else but to wish you peace, from Benirredra, 17th January 1596. At your service, Luis el-Gazí.

These last and chronologically later illustrations are of some interest because they show in most cases the previous stages to the changes seen in document III. Thus we can observe the intermediary process, taking into consideration that IVa and b are in the same hand:

	IVa	IVb	III
.Loss of quantity	yakūn→yakun fī-hā	yakūn ‘ām	fi-ha am
.Loss of pharynd. CC or hesitation	tan‘aṭī→taṭī ṣa‘an	yaṭṭinī kamṣ	yaṭṭ -
.Loss of initial glottal stop	inna	‘inna ‘am	alamin
.Loss of gemination	nar-sal-lak	yaḥiddaṭak	a-nahar
.Loss of final C	-	yadayn	šahray
.Reduction of <u>aw</u>	aw	aw ‘awn	
		yam	yam
.Use of <u>huwa</u> as "dummy"	-	-	huwa-yaṭṭi
.Use of <u>ilā</u> for <u>li</u>	-	ilā siyadit-ak?	ilā-waladu
.Use of <u>kan</u> (cond.)	in kin yakun	-	wakn
.Use of <u>aš</u> neg.	-	ašfihā	asya kmal asfiha

The gradual loss of identity of boundaries, so noticeable in III, which simultaneously may be interpreted as the fading out of the concept of the triliteral root is active in both texts:
IVa: narsalah lak; nar sal-lak ; kulliṣī

Summing up, document III, although earlier in time (1587) reflects a more advanced stage of change, a greater state of divergence from the formal styles or registers of Arabic. To say that the scribe of IV was more proficient is too simple an explanation to account for the drift between a and b, over a period of months, towards greater similarity with III.

Feature analysis

1. III, flexible.

IV, mainly SVO with the presence of pronoun subjects
(anī hinat).

2. Derived forms from R R R roots: see notes above.
4. Articles. In III redundant use of the article: alaḡnatay.
In IVa: fī aṭ-ṭabla matā balansiyā.

5. Particles, innovations: see notes above. fi yaš in III
fī-aš is another derived form from aš (cf. Granadan Arabic).
matā is used as a calque of de: ṭablā matā balansiyā.

6. V deletion. In III: wahida huwa al-ḡaḡ
[I N V→Ø N N]

7. wa...fa. Not in III, but present in IV.

14. alad/alladī are present, yet there is evidence that fi yaš
in III and inna, am in IV are being used in this function:

al-bartīṭ . . . am yaḡṭinī šay.
N [? V N]

Since aladī is constantly preceded by an invariant, can one
assign the function of relativization to this form, rather
than a common function to all these instances, that of quasi-
conjunction of an invariant nature (cf. relexicalization)?

17. Negation: see notes above.

19. Romance borrowings. See previous comments. We note
the use of the Christian calendar and the spread of loans
beyond the adoption of technical terms, as in IV:

anī yam...quyizādu nak-bār 'ilā siyaditak fī alladī yakūn fī-hā
[N V N [V I N I [N V I N]]]
a usted en lo que hay de eso.

which we see as an extended calque with a Romance underlying
structure.

DIACHRONIC TABLE OF FEATURES FOR THE REGION OF VALENCIA IN C16

Features	Doc. Dated	I 149 1511 (DS)	II 150 1513	III 1587	IVa&b 207&212 1595-96
.1 Word Order VSO		flexible	+	-	-
. Morphemic alternations					
2. Derived forms RRR		+	+	-	+?
3. Case ending morphs		-	-	-	-
4. Articles		+	-	+	+
5. Particles		+	+	+	+
6. V → ∅		1 case	+	+	?
7. wa fa		+	+	-	+
. Subordination					
8. V'an		-	-	-	-
9. V li		-	-	-	-
10. V'alā'an		-	-	-	-
11. law V		+	+	-	-
12. kamā V		-	+	-	-
. Relativization					
13. mā V		+	+	-	-
14. llaḡī V		+	+	+	+
15. llatī V		+	-	-	-
. Average no. of nested clauses		1 to 2	2	none	less than 1
. Negation					
16. mā V		+	+	-	-
17. lā V		-	+	-	-
18. lam V		-	+	-	-
.19 Romance borrowing		+	+	+	+ calque
TOTAL		12?	13	5	6?

The division, the reader will remember, is to mark the period before and after the prohibition of the use of Arabic. The results are clear.

Within the same register/style the documents written at the end of the century present half the features of those dated at the beginning. As Labarta commented (1) the number of nested clauses is significantly small in her corpus as it is in our study and this correlates with the

1 Labarta (1980) II jornadas.

decrease in present features. We understand this as a simplification process towards pidginization.

Comparisons have been attempted between the Arabic dialects of Granada and Valencia; the task has not become easier over the years. Whereas there is now a substantial corpus for Valencia, the sources are few for the region of Granada, giving a fragmentary, if not contradictory, picture. In the circumstances, our conclusions can only be of a preliminary nature.

Ribera was among the first to consider the two varieties as different dialects (1). His approach is essentially phonetic, based on the realizations of given phonemes in cognates:

Valencian Ar.	Granadan Ar.	
neceráni	nícrańi	"Christian"
matá	mité	"with, of"
meuté	mautí	"dead"
ánna	énne	"that" conjunction

He observes that the imāla or vocalic shift from [a] to [e] had progressed a stage further in Granadan Arabic. Where [a] occurs in Valencian, the Granadan cognate shows [e] or the 1st stage of the shift; and where [e] is realized in Valencian, there is [i] or the 2nd stage in the Granadan variety. He concludes these brief remarks with two interesting suggestions:

1) that there must have been consonantal differences in these varieties. Colin has studied epenthetic vowels and cluster reduction in Granadan Arabic (2); the peculiar behaviour of dental fricatives in this same variety has been researched by Alonso (3) and others; and

1 Ribera y Tarragó (1911:vii) also in (1928:332).

2 Colin (1928).

3 Alonso (1967:vol.I), Galmés de Fuentes (1962).

ii) more directly relevant to this study, that the use of particles is region bound. The example he gives is the neutralization of ilā "to+movement" and li "to" indirect object marker to a simplified ambiguous form le, in Valencian ile. We shall return to particles, but first let us compare the texts themselves.

A) The Lord's Prayer (1)

Granada (1505)

Valencia (1566)

Guáliduna /wāliduna/

Huildine /wildine/

Alcalá is more conservative a is retained.

fa cemeguét/fa semewet/

[θ ?]

(Ar.samāwāt)

fe cemehuet/fe semewet/

[θ ?]

Both N components show same degree of vocalic shift. The realization of fa for fi occurs in the two varieties. In In Abenaboo it is part of a general analogical process affecting "enclitic" particles. This does not seem to have been the case in Valencian.

cudúcunizmuq̄n/qudūzu iθmuk/(2)

illustrates the consonantal alternation of the dental fricatives typical of Granada. Compare with:

yetqueddéc ícmeq /

yatqaddās izmek/ (Ayala)

and Maltese jitqaddes ismek for Arabic /Q-DDS S-M-/

Kobzane cúlli yáumi a'atinehu

Alcalá is more conservative than Ayala, with regard to

Ribera's remarks. As mentioned previously, the context is liturgical. It is not a case of hypercorrection, but of stylistics; as such it is not representative of everyday usage.

1 Appendices.

2 Alonso & =ts Castilian.

Ayala's version is consistent with document IV. However the difficulty of validating this kind of analysis should be apparent.

B) The letters of Abenaboo, on the one hand, and Luis el-Gazí, on the other, should present more realistic material. Both are native speakers requesting some form of help in their affairs. It is unfortunate there are so few documents of this sort.

Cross dialectal table of features for late Cl6

Features	Granada: Abenaboo 1570	Valencia: L. el Gazí 1595-1596
1. Word Order VSO	-	-
Morphemic alternations		
2. Derived forms RRR	+	+?
3. Case ending morphs	-	-
4. Articles	?	+
5. Particles	+	+
6. V → Ø	-	?
7. wa[] fa[]	-	+
. Subordination		
8. V 'an	+	-
9. V li	-	-
10. V 'alā 'an	-	-
11. law V	-	-
12. kamā V	-	-
. Relativization		
13. mā V	+	-
14. lladī V	+	+
15. llatī V	-	-
.No. of nested clauses per string	1	less than 1
. Negation		
16. mā V	+	-
17. lā V	+	-
18. lam V	-	-
.19 Romance borrowing	+	+
	8/19	5 /19

The number of present features is near equal in both varieties, about 1/3 of the total possibilities. One might say that this would increase the difficulties in establishing their separate identity. Before answering this point, let us say that these

tables may be and should be read in more than one direction. If one considers, for a start, the absent features and more particularly the ones that have disappeared after a certain date, one can track specific variations involved in linguistic change taken as a whole. These two varieties have become SVO dialects, where VSO is a stylistic alternative. Both have lost case ending morphs, a feature common and characteristic of Romance and Arabic vernaculars.

Considering the 3 remaining blocks of features: subordination, relativization and negation. The almost complete disappearance of the two first and the weakening of relativization suggest a parallel process in Valencian and Granadan Arabic, a simplification of a similar nature with the loss of specific rules while retaining an umbrella rule producing a single form that will serve in a greater number of contexts. Taking negation to illustrate the case, lam ceases to be used, then according to the variety and this choice is dialect bound, either mā or lā survives as negation mark, extending its domain to include the domains of lost forms. To compensate for the new ambiguity and consequent vagueness of the umbrella form, other forms can and are used for a time in a negative fashion, e.g. illā or new forms emerge like as in the later texts. We see this trend as taking place in the other blocks of features. Clearly llaḍī is another such umbrella form, with a gradual erosion of its status, from the moment it collocates with a preceding invariant. The selection of llaḍī as the umbrella form entails the obsolescence of llatī, mā, man which, in turn, implies the loss of a series of rules related to concord, antecedents and ultimately anaphoric pronouns. All of which existed in the past in the formal range of the language continuum,

and this correspondence we are analysing falls within this range. From this perspective, one could describe this new function of llaḍī as a process of simplification. To assess the importance of this process it is necessary to observe it in a wider context, e.g. that of "languages in contact".

We think that historical change consists, in part, in simplification; this is balanced by a gradual restructuring in the shape of innovations: the emergence of new features (1) and relexicalization. As long as the two processes are active and the dialect responds to the demands of its users, it evolves and survives, even in a situation of competition. The emergence of umbrella forms reveals a critical state within a variety; where they are not followed by an increase in innovations as explained, the variety will change its linguistic status to become a creole or pidgin depending on the external pressures exerted by the competing prestige varieties.

Coming back to the samples under consideration, what features do they share?

- . Derivation from trilateral stems, with a fading of the feature in some varieties of Valencian Arabic.
- . The appearance of new particles indicates that some restructuring is taking place.
- . llaḍī survives in both dialects. The question raised is whether it still marks relativization, or whether it has broadened its scope to include that of an invariant (+conjunction).
- . lā is still the all-purpose negative mark, although it is losing its ground to the new form as.
- . Romance borrowing. The frequency and the type of borrowing

1 In Romance, the definite article originated in a similar fashion from the relexicalization of ille, formerly a member of the demonstrative set.

is an indication of the inroads of the languages in competition. Again there are several stages: (i) The adoption of single lexical items as slot fillers such as proper names or technical terms. (ii) The second stage is reached with the appearance of hybrid forms, when the rules governing the receiving variety are applied to the loan. (iii) A further stage occurs when the borrowing is such as to perturb the underlying structure and the above-mentioned rules cease to apply in specific patterns. (iv) The calque reflects the presence of a foreign deep structure, the slots of which or the ultimate nodes are occupied by items originating from the receiving variety.

The Granadan letter shows instances of stages (i) and (ii). The Valencian contains evidence covering stage (i), possibly stage (ii) (al-barṭit) and stage (iv). This conclusion reinforces the hypothesis as to the onset of pidginization or creolization, expanded in the last paragraph.

Dialectal Differentiation

. Derivation is more productive in Granadan Arabic, with another development commented upon, tolerance of 3 consonant clustering. This would depress mutual intelligibility between sister dialects and at a different level, complicate decoding operations.

. Particles. Recalling Ribera's observation about particles being dialect specific, composites of aš are numerous in the Granadan dialect: ašma; ašmakin; bix (elegy); iḏaš; lawāš (Dorador); they seem less so in the Valencian: fi yaš. Whereas in the Valencian, there are instances of vowel changes in enclitic particles: fa for fi, the process has gone further

in Abenaboo with ba for bi and la for li. This la "to" is homonymous with lā (negation) which is either substituted for by another negative form -as- or evolves into le (Alcalá, Dorador) forming a minimal pair la le, confirming /e/ as a phoneme in the vocalic system. In Valencian as Ribera stated ilā/ile is becoming an umbrella form resulting from loss of distinction between phonetically similar items and when followed by an N (pronoun) component it affixes unto a V component in most cases. In Granadan li and ilā retain their separate functions.

. Subordination. Granadan Arabic has traces of subordination: V yina pattern, and the average number of nested clauses per string is greater than in Valencian Arabic.

. The same is true of relativization. In the former mā V is used along with llaḡī V, consequently this form is not isomorphic with the Valencian llaḡī which has greater scope and greater ambiguity.

With these brief remarks, we have attempted to define what Alonso del Castillo and other contemporaries have said: that they could understand Valencian Arabic, although it was different from what was spoken in Granāda.

7.4.3 Saragossa

Following the events of the 1520s in the region of Valencia and the resistance of Muslim subjects in the mountain range of Espadán, the Crown decided to curtail the freedom of practice of the remaining Moors within the kingdom of Aragon and Catalonia, not without the opposition of the Aragonese feudal lords under the leadership of the Count of Ribagorza, a royal prince of the House of Aragon, but to no effect. After 1526, all the Spanish subjects of Charles I and V of Austria were members of the Church of Rome and dissenters were considered heretics.

The first document of this last period was edited by Ribera (1) and is dated 1494. Letter from Mohamed el-Qurašī to Abu 'Abdallāh el-Ġazī.

Al-ḥamdu llāhi waḥda-h. sayyidi sanadī wa-ʿazī wa-aḡlālī wa maḥall taʿzīmī wa-štiyāqi alladī maḥabbat-h muzawaḡat bi-laḥmī wa-damī wa-šawq-t rawāyat-h muḡarūsāt fī qalbi wa-šarāsifī dālikum s-sayadat l-faḡīh l-mukarram wa l-ustād l-māhir l-muʿazzam. abū ʿabd allāh muḥammad l-ḡazī akrama-hu allāh wa-tawalā-h wa-ḡaʿala l-ḡannat manzil-h fī ukṛā-h bi-raḥmat-h wa-ḡūda anna-h minʿam karīm. salām karīm muqaddis ʿamīn yaʿtimid siyādat-kum wa-raḥmatu allāhu wa-barakāt-hu min maʿizz ḥurmat-kum wa-mūḡab kadimat-kum asḡar ʿabūd -kum muḥammad l-qurašī l-maʿrūf bi-kalabārūh. ammā baʿd fa-qabaḡt kitāb-kum l-ʿanīr wa-fahimt mutaḡamanna-h.. likay (2) maḡṣūd risālat-kum l-karīmat ilā hiya r-raḡbat l-akīdat ʿan baʿaṡtu (3) la-kum širūḡāt waṡaʿiq l-ḡazīrī lākin raḡbat-kum ilā maʿdūrat li an-nī lā faʿala ʿan-kum šayan mā iḡtāḡa raḡbat min

v: vowel in Ms.

- 1 Ms: Junta No.100/1 Ribera y Tarragó (1893); also in (1928:vol.I:352ff).
- 2 la-kin in 1928 version hereafter called B.
- 3 abʿaṡtu in B.

Mohamed el Qurašī (Calavera)'s letter.

Ribera Tarragó (1893) - Part I.

الحمد لله وحده . . سدي وسدي وعزي واجلالى ومحل تعظيمى
 واشتياؤى الذى محبته ممزوجة بالحمى وذمى وشرقة روايته مغروسة فى
 قلبي وشراسمى ذاك السادة الشقيذ المكرم ولاستاذ المادرات العظيم . .
 ابو عبد الله محمد الغازى اكرمه الله وتلاه وجمل الجنة منزله فى اخراة
 برحمته وجوده اذ منعم كريم . . سلام كريم مقدس عميم يعتمد
 سيادتكم ورحمة الله وبركاته من معز حرمتكم وموجب خدمتكم اصغر
 عبدكم محمد القرشى المعروف بكلمارة . . اما بعد فقضت كتابكم
 الكافى وفهمت منه لى مقصود رسالتكم الكريمة الى هى الرغبة
 لا كيدة ان بعثت لكم شروحات وثائق الجزيرى لآكن رغبةكم
 الى معذرة لاننى لافعل نفعكم شىء ما احتاج رغبة من جانبكم لان
 بالامر منكم كنت ملتزما ان افعله فضلا ان ترغوني فوالله الذى لا
 اله الا هو ما كانت الشروحات عندي منسوخة لا فى رقاع متفرقات
 وكانت فى بلدى قال الرقاع واكون لان اليوم نفسى لسفوى وظا
 طمى بتركها فى الرقاع بغير نسخ وكيفما كان انى اجتهد فى
 نسخها اذا جاء محمد بن يوسف اطلب له الشروح المذكورة لانتسخ
 منها نسخة وارسلها الى آية مجدكم ان شاء الله وان كان معى اشغال
 اتركه لآجل خدمتكم . . اما من شروحات الخطب فلم اقبضها
 بعد لآكن كل يوم ارغب وارسل رسالة لقرطبي ان يبعثها الى وكما
 كان رجل من قلة عهد وامان ما يفعل شىء برسالاتى كان حلى بالله
 انه اذا بلغ لتطاعة انه يرسلها الى بلا شىء وصلى شوران ولم يرسلها . .
 اما من جواد فصاحكم الى السؤال عن حالى وعن كيفية تعاملى فى
 مقصودى فاجبركم كيف اكون صحيحا فى الحال الحمد لله وفرغت

ġānib-kum li anna bi-l-amr min-kum kunt multaziman an af'ala-h
 fidlan an targabū^{hi} fa-wa-allāh alladī lā ilāh illā huwa mā kānat
 š-širūhāt ind-ī mansūkat illā fī raqā' mutafaraqāt wa kānat fī
 baladī tilka r-raqā' wa-akūn illā anna alūm nafsī li-safahī wa
 ġilt (1) tab'ī bi-tark-hā fī r-raqā' bi-ġayr naskin kayf-mā
 kāna annī iġtahad fī nasak-hā idā ġa'a muḥammad bnu yūsuf...(2)
 atlub la-h š-šurūḥ l-madkūrat li-ntasaka min-hā nuskatan
 wa-arsala-hā ilā 'aliyat maġd-kum in ša'a allāh wa in kāna
 ma'ī ašġāl atruk-h li-aġal kīdmat-kum. ammā min š-šurūhāt
 al-kuṭab falam aqbiḍu-hā ba'd lā-kin kull yawm arġab wa-arsal
 risālat li-qurtubī an yub'at-hā il-ī wa-kamā kāna raġul min
 qillat 'ahd wa-amān mā yaf'al šay'an bi-risālātī kāna ḥalaf
 bi-llāh anna-h idā balaġa li-tuṭīlat anna-h yarsal-hā il-ī
 bi-lā šakk wa maḍā šahrān wa lam yarsal-hā. ammā min ġawād
 faḍl-kum ilā s-suwāl 'an ḥalī wa-'an kayfiyyat ta'līmī fī
 maqṣūdī fa-akbar-kum kayf akūn ṣaḥīḥan fī l-ḥāl al-ḥamdu llāh
 wa-fanaġt illā an min qirā'at šarḥ 'urġūzat ibn sinā'a
 bada'at li-qirā'at l-kitāb al-awwal min qānūn musta'inā bi-allāh
 wa kunt iġtahad wa'at'ab laylan wa-nahāran li-anāla maqṣūdī
 li-anna l-kitābi l-madkūr kāna yatakallam fī kulliyāt t-tibb
 wa kulliyāt t-tibb kānat ma'rifatu ḥaddi t-tibb wa l-muzāġ
 l-irkān wa-t-tabā'i' wa ma'rifat d-darūrīyāt min l-ma'akil
 wa-š-šarb wa-n-nawm wa-l-yaqzat wa-l-ḥarakat wa-s-sukūn wa
 ma'rifat l-maraḍi wa al-'araḍ wa-s-sababi wa ġayr dālika min
 'ašyā' kaṭīrat lā tuḥṣā (3) wa-kull dālika kāna min 'adaqq

1 HJB: t --> z

2 "undecipherable" Ribera ed.

3 HJB: lā yuḥṣā ?

hāḏā l- 'ilm li-anna-h kāna yatakallam manṭiqiyyan wa-falsafiyyan
 wa kull mā kāna ka-ḏālika lā yanāl illā bi-ḡihadin wa- ta'abin
 fa-kāna wāḡiban 'alā an at'ab laylan wa nahāran l -anāl maqṣūdī
 arḡib ilā allāh an yu'ayyinani 'alā nayl maqṣūdī aw 'alā mā
 yakūn 'a'bud wa-aḥmadā. ammā qawl-kum in wasu'a z-zamān an
 iḡtahad fī ziyārat-kum li-anna-kum muṣtāqūn l-rawāyatī fa-an-nī
 wa-allāh lā ṣadda ṣawqan li-rawāyat-kum wa-kidmat-kum fa-in
 wasu'a allāh fī z-zamān idā (1) zā'ir-kum in ṣa'a allāh.
 arḡib-kum 'an tabāḡū (2) s-salām 'anī 'alā t-tāhirat 'z-zakiyat
 ḥalīlat-kum wa 'alā awlād-kum wa 'alā ḡamī' tilāmīd-kum
 wa-sā'ir man taḥū-ṭa-h ra'iyat-kum wa s-salām 'ā'id 'alay-kum
 wa raḥmatu allāhu wa barakāt-hu. l-muqabbal ayadī-kum wa-arḡul-
 kum aṣḡar tilāmīd-kum muḥammad qalbāru min saraqustat kutiba
 l-yawm l-itnayn t-tānī 'aṣar li--yanīr 'ām. 1..

Translation

Praise be to the one God!

Sir, my support and solace, worthy of my admiration and praise, I long for your (company) cherished for close blood ties; the wish to see you is planted deep in my heart, O honourable faḡīh, wise and revered teacher! (To) Abu 'Abd Allāh Mahomed el Ḡazī - May God honour, take care of him and grant him paradise in the hereafter! In His mercy and excellency give him a generous and noble benefactor! - Greetings, Reverent Sir, on whom I rely, Master - May God have mercy and bless you! with respect (from) the humble servant in your debt, Mahomed el Quraśī, known as Kalabāra (Calavera).

Besides I have received your clarifying letter and I understand the implications that are implied in your noble letter until it expresses the urgent wish that I send you the commentaries on contracts by el Ḡazīrī. Your wish is justifiable for I have not done a thing, the excuse being in part that because of your request I was obliged to do something outstanding and so - by God and there is none but Him - there were no commentaries from me instead, (All) dissolved in folly, in my laziness I had no choice but to blame myself and my erring nature for wanting to replace them by something else. As I was trying to replace them Mahomed Ibn Yusuf came

1 anā in B.

2 taballaḡū in B.

Mohamed el Qurašī (Calavera)'s letter.

Ribera Tarragó (1893) - Part II.

الآن من قراءة شرح ارجوزة ابن سينا، وبدأت القراءة الكتاب الاول
من القانون مستعيناً بالله وكنت اجتهد وادب ليلاً ونهاراً لاني
مقصودى لان الكتاب المذكور كان يحكم في كليات الطب
وكليات الطب كانت معرفة حد الطب و المزاج والاركان والطبائع
ومعرفة الضروريات من الماكل والشرب والنوم واليقظة والحركة والسكون
ومعرفة المرض والعرض والسبب وغير ذلك من اشياء كثيرة لا تحصى
وكل ذلك كان من ادق هذا العلم لانه كان يتكلم بقطعيه وفلسفيا
وكل ما كان كذلك لا ينال الا بجهد وتعب فكان واجبا على ان اتعب
ليلاً ونهاراً لاني مقصودى ارغب الى الله ان يعيننى على نيل مقصودى
ارادى ما يمكن اعبد واحمد . . اما قولكم ان وسع الزمان ان اجتهد
في زيارتكم لانكم مشتاقون لروايته فاني والله لاشد شوقاً لروايته
وخدمتكم فان وسع الله في الزمان اذا زائرکم ان شاء الله . . ارغبكم
ان تداعوا السلام على الطاهرة الزكية حايلةكم وعلى اولادكم
وعلى جميع تلاميذكم وسائر من تحوطه رعيهكم والسلام علىكم
ورحمة الله وبركاته

المقبل ايديكم وارجلكم اصغر تلاميذكم محمد قلبارة من سرقطة

كتب يوم الاثنين الثاني عشر ليناير عام ٩٠٠

...(1) requesting the commentaries to copy them. I will send them to your Honour - if God wills! - the matter is in hand, rest assured. As for the commentaries on the 'Homilies', I have not got them. Yet every day I ask and send for the 'Essay of el Qurtubí. As he is a man far from efficient and unreliable, he has not done a thing with the Essays; he swore by God that when he reached Tudela he would send them without fail and two months have passed and he has not sent them.

As for (your) generosity, it is extreme in asking about my health, my studies and research. So let me tell you, my health is sound. Thank God! I have finished but for the reading of the commentary to "The Poems" (Urğūzat) of Avicenna and I have started reading the first book of Law (Qānūn), trusting to God, striving, working hard night and day on my research to achieve my aim and lecture on General Medicine, that is: definitions, cardinal humours, their nature, and the knowledge of the requirements of food and drink, sleep and wakefulness, exercise and rest, ailments and their symptoms, their cause and many other things beyond count; all of which belong specifically to this science. (And) to speak on Logic and Philosophy, all of which is useful and worthy of praise, acquired not without effort and toil and having to study night and day to achieve it, and praying God that I might do so, that I might serve and give thanks.

As for what you said, if I have the time, I shall try to visit you, I would like to see you. I miss you greatly and wish to serve you, if God wills and allows me to! Peace to you, the others and your faultless wife and children, all your pupils and joy to him who tends the flock! Peace be with you, God's mercy and blessing! Kissing your hand and feet, your humble student, Mahomed Calavera from Saragossa. Written 12th January 900 AH.

Feature analysis

1. V S O order.
2. Derivation: ta'zīmi ~ mu'azzam; ma'rūf ~ ma'rifat;
fa'ala ~ af'ala ~ yaf'al.
3. Evidence for case ending morphs:
fa kāna wāğiban; bi-ğihadin

There is no means of assessing the extent of this retrieval; in most instances the script is opaque, but: lianna l-kitābi
kāna yatakallam fī... Case morphs have been used, in the above transcription, to break up CCC clusters which are avoided in most registers of Arabic dialects.

4. Redundant article: l-yawm l-it_myn t-tānī 'ašar li- ?

See Valencia 7.3.2.

6. V deletion occurs less frequently than has been the case in other excerpts:

ilā hiya r-raġbat al-akīdat
[N V→Ø N N]

7. wa fa coordination. See 3.

8. V'an: kunt_v an af_v'ala-h faḍlan_v
[I]

10. V'alā 'an: fa kāna wāġiban 'alā an at_v'ab laylan_v
[I V [I V N ...]

12. kamā V: wa-kamā kāna raġul
[I I V N ...]

13. kull mā kāna ka -ḡālika
N [N V [I]

14. wa-stiyāqī allaqī maḥabbat-h
[N]

Average number of nested clauses: 1.

16. mā (I) V: raġul ... mā yaf_v'al bi-risālātī
[I V I N]

17. lā V: li-anni lā fa_v'ala
[I I V ...]

18. lam V: lam yarsal -hā
[I V]

19. loans: proper names galabāruḥ, yanīr, saraqustat.

This letter is exceptional on account of the retrieval of case morphs and the high number of present features in it. The appearance of these features accompanies other findings: complex subordination is used in preference to allaqī V. Invariants precede V components marking the generation of further clauses. There are no overt dialectal forms and borrowing is almost nil. This identifies the text as belonging to the most formal style/register of the language continuum.

The next two documents come from the collection of Arabic deeds of Nuestra Señora del Pilar of Saragossa, edited by García de Linares:

Doc. 15, dated 1496

Doc. 16, dated 1501

Doc. 15, Receipt for the deposit of 2 measures of wheat (qafīz) and 1068 pieces (sueldos jaqueses) and 9 coins with Salema el Mozo, Musa el Hasan and Mohamed Ibn Faradj el Mocho, of Alfamén (or Alhama of Aragon?), by Abu Bakr Ibn Abu Bakr of Calatorao. As in Doc. 13 (see 7.3.3.1), the scribe is a faqīh and serves as Notary Public to the community of Alhama; his spiritual authority is confirmed by his official status.

bismi allāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi wa ṣallā allāhu ʿalā muḥammadin wa-ālihi wa-sallama. aṣḥada ʿalā anfus-h=m abī an-naǧī. (1) ṣalāmat al-muz=h wa abī ʿimrān mūsā al-ḥasan wa-abī ʿabd allāh muḥammad bnu faradj al-muǧ=h aṣ-sākinūn fī baladat l-ḥammān šuḥadā ḥadā l-kitāb fī ṣiḥḥati-him wa ʿaql -h=m wa-ǧawāz amr-h=m aqrārū bi-l-ḥaqq wa-nqiyādan ilay-hi anna-hum yaḥbisūn ʿinda-hum wa ʿinda kull wāḥid min-hum wadīʿat maḥḍat wa-amān mūmin wa-dālika alf wa tamāniyat wa sittīn šulde wa tis^c furūd furūdan ǧakāǧiyyat min l-ǧāriyat al ʿān bi-araǧūn ḥina tārik ḥadā l-kitāb wa-qafīzayn min qamḥ tayyiban naqiyyan min kayl maḍīnat saraqustat min al-mukarram abī bākr ibn abū bākr min ahl qal ʿat t-turāb aqarru salāmat wa mūsā wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn bi qabḍ l-wadīʿat l-maḍkūrat min ʿinda l-maḍkūr abū bākr ʿinda-hum wa ʿinda kull wāḥid min-hum wa-fī qabḍat-h=m qabḍan wāfiyan wa-anna abū bākr l-maḍkūr dālika ʿalay-hum wa-ʿalā anfus -h=m wa-amwāl-h=m wa- ḍimmat-h=m ʿalā l-ḥulūl yākuḍ abū bākr l-maḍkūr l-wadīʿat l-maḍkūrat aw t-ṭālb ʿan-h aw bi-sabab-hi-hadā l-ʿaql min-hum aw min ayy -h=m

Ḷ: Fricative consonant; ʿ: Vowel diacritic present in Ms.

— =Strings common to Doc.13 (see above); = =Romance loans.

min šā'i matā raḍī wa aḥubb dūn maṭl wa-lā ta'kir taḥta ilzāma li-
 anfus-h=m wa-dimmat-h=m wa- amwāl-h=m haytu kānat wa'ayna waḡadat
 wa-arāda wa-raḍā salāmat wa mūsā wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn anna šāhib
 l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat yākuḍ min-hum min šā'i wa arāda l-hādir 'an l-ḡā'ib
 wa l-malā 'an l-faqīr wa-ṣ-ṣaḥīh 'an l-marīd wa l-ḥayy 'an mayt wa alzima
 salāmat wa mūsā wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn anfus -h=m wa-amwāl-h=m wa-
 dimmat-h=m wa kull wāḥid min-hum l-wāḥid 'an l-aḡar wa 'an l-kull
 l-wafā' wa radda l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat li-šāhib-h l-maḍkūr aw li-kull
 man ṭalab-hā 'an-h aw bi-sabab -h bi-hāḍā l-'aḡd wa ma'a dālika alzima
 salāmat wa mūsā wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn anfus -h=m wa amwāl -h=m
 wa dimmat -h=m bi-nṣāf wa kulifa ḡamī' l-manā'ib wa-n-nafaqāt wa-l-
 kasarāt wa l-'aṭāl'at li-šāhib l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat 'an tasabab aw
 ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h aw bi-sabab -h 'alā ṭalb waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat min ayy
 l-manā'ib wa n-nafaqāt wa l-kasarāt arāda wa raḍā salāmat wa mūsā wa
 muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn 'an ta'mal (1) šekusiyun fī amwāl -h=m wa amwāl
 kull wāḥid min-hum ḡamī' an aw mufradan fī kull mawḍi' yūḡad wa 'in
 yubā'a dālika ḥasab sīrat l-maḡlis wa 'āddat l-furīḍat li-manfa'at
 šāhib l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat wa li-muḍarrat -hum ilā 'an yakūn šāhib
 l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat maṣṣūfan wa muṣayyiran min waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat
 wa min manā'ib wa-nafaqāt -h l-muta'arraḍat la-h 'alā ṭalb l-waḍī'at
 l-maḍkūrat wa arāda wa raḍā salāmat wa mūsā wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'in yakūn šāhib l-waḍī'at l-maḍkūrat aw ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h aw bi-sabab -h
 bi-hāḍā l-'aḡd muṣaddaḡan bi-kalimah dūn yamīn wa lā šahūd talzima-h
 wa li-ḥabs ḡamī' dālika wa-ik-māl-h alzima salāmat wa (2) ===
 'anfus -h=m 'amwāl-h=m sākinat wa-mutaḥarrik-h mukasūbat wa
 ḡayr mukasūbat wa-kāṣṣat alzima salāmat wa (2) wa-dālika
 mā-yat wa-tamānīn rā'san min mu'ā'iz-h=m min al-wān mukālīfan wa arāda wa

1 HJB: undotted prefix, we suggest ya'mal.

2 salāmat etc.

raḍā salāmat wa (1) 'in yakūnnā maḥbūsīn wa masgūnīn aw
min wuḡīd min-hum bi-sabab l-wadī'at (2) fī kull makāna yūḡad aw
ayy -h=m yuḡud lā yaknif-hum kanasiyyat wa-lā makāna ḡahirā wa-lā
ḡayr-h wa arād wa raḍā salāmat wa (1) an yakūn ṣāḥib
l-wadī'at (2) aw t-tālib 'an-h aw bi-sabab l-qādrān 'alā ṭalb l-wadī'at (2)
wa-l-manā'ib wa-n-nafaqāt an ta'arradat la-h amāma ayy ḥākim
ṣa'a wa 'asqatū 'an-hum ḥākim-hum r-rātib wa sallimū-h wa-ḡa'lū anfus-
h=m li-hukūmat wa 'aqalat a'nī e-ḡuridiksiyun i-kunbulṣ min ayy ḥākim
ṣa'a ṣāḥibu l-wadī'at (2) aw t-tālibi 'an-h bi-sabab-h bi-l-'aqdi yud'ī-h=m
wa kāsṣat li-yaḡ'al -h=m li-hukūmat l-ḡuṣṭisiyah d-araḡūn wa-nā'ib wa arāda
wa raḍā salāmat wa (1) anna-hum lā yaḡdar yanfa' la-hum fī
tamtīl qaḍā'a l-wadī'at l-maḡkūrat ḡahīr wa lā 'ayda wa lā firār wa
wa-lā ḡayr -h wa lā l-fuweru alladī yu'ayyina la-hum min l-ṣaṣarat l-ayyām li-
tālb 'uḡūdan aw barāwāt -h aw ḡayr dālika bala asqatū ḡamī' dālika
wa-abṭal -hum wa-a'ṭal-hum kalā ṣay'in wa in lā yabrū'u -hum min al (3)
wadī'at l-maḡkūrat wa-l-manā'ib l-muta'arradat la-h aw bi-sabab
l-wadī'at l-maḡkūrat illā iqrār ṣāḥib l-wadī'at l-maḡkūrat bi-qabḍ
-hā aw barāt min yaḍ kātib maṣḥūr bi-l-wāḡib wa-l-tazama salāmat wa (1)
li-ṣāḥib l-wadī'at (2) l-ikmāl la-h min ḥaqq dūn ḥukūmat wa
lā kiṣāmin wa lā taṣāḡurin wa-ḡalafū 'alā dālika l-yamīn l-wāḡib 'alay-hum
bi-llāhi alladī lā ilāh illā huwa ṣahada bi-dālika kull-h min aṣḡadā-h
salāmat wa (1) bi-mā ḡukira 'an-hum fī-hāḡā l-kitāb man
'arifa-hum wa-samī'a min-hum wa-hum l-kull bi-l-ḡāl l-mawṣūf
a'lā-h wa-dālika yawm t-talātāt t-tālt wa-l-'aṣrīn min ṣahar fabrīru
'ām aḡdā wa tis'amiyyat wa fī-h biṣarr hayṭu qāl saraḡuṣt.
wa-katabt hāḡā l-'aqd kamā huwa mansūṣ a'lāh abī muḡammad bnu mūsā

- 1 HJB: salāmat etc.
- 2 HJB: wadī'at l-maḡkūrat
- 3 HJB: in Ms spelt as el

bnu yaḥya bnu l-ḥasan l-ḥammāmī waffiqa-h allāhu l-itāʿat-h bi-minn=h
 ʿan idn l-faqīh l-murrafaʿ abī isḥāq ibrahīm esetin=h kadīm ḡāmiʿ
 baladat l-muslimīn min mawdiʿ l-ḥammām hīna tārīk ḥāḍā l-ʿaqd wa anna
 l-faqīh n-nabīl ista ʿdina lī fī-h wa bi-amr-h wa ḥaḍrat-h
 kariḡat-h min zimām -h wa bi-akbar kamāl wa-ṭibātīn bi-idn l-
 ḡuramāʿ l-maḡkūrīn aʿalā-h wa bi-idn man waḡib bi-h wa-bi-h
 saḥḥa wa-ṭabit bi-l-wāḡib aʿalā-h wa-s-salāma wa-min allāhi t-
 tarśīd intahā.

Wa-anā ibrahīm s-sātinī l-banā ḥalīḡī kadīm ḡāmiʿ l-balad l-maḡkūr
 wa-kātib maṣḥūr fī-h ista ʿdanat ilā s-sayyid l-faqīh l-ʿālim
 l-bāhir l-munabb-h bi-katb ḥāḍā l-ʿaqd l-muḡayyad aʿlā-h wa-ṭubit
 laḍayya wa-bi-dālika katabt ṣaḥādatī bi-kaṭṭ yadī wa-l-ḥamdu-llah
 rabbu l-ʿālamīn.

Translation

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!
 May He bless Muḥammad and grant peace to (his) people!
 Abi el Naḡi? Salema el Mozo, Abi ʿImran Musa el Hasan and
 Abi ʿAbd-Allāh Mahomed Ibn Faradj el Mocho, domiciled in
 the district of Alhama (Alfamén), call on their behalf
 the witnesses of this document (to certify) that
 they are sound of mind and body; as to the legality
 of this deed (issued) at their request and to its truth -
 that under their personal responsibility, they have in
 their keeping, one and all, a genuine deposit free of
 claims under trustworthy security, and that is 1068
 pieces (jaqueses) and 9 coins in the currency of Aragon
 at the date of the deed and 2 measures of clean wheat in
 weights of Saragossa, from the honourable Abi Bakr Ibn
 Abu Bakr from the community of Calatorao. The above
 mentioned Salema, Musa and Mahomed acknowledge that they
 have in their keeping the said deposit on behalf of the
 same Abu Bakr, one and all. They hold the whole deli-
 vered deposit under their responsibility, against their
 wealth. On dissolving the agreement, the said Abu Bakr
 may retrieve the same deposit, his claimant, for what-
 ever reason, through this document from them or any of
 them in this matter, until satisfied and content, without
 delay nor default under their personal responsibility and
 surety of their wealth, wherever it may be. The above
 mentioned Salema and Musa and Mahomed (Salema & co.)
 agree that the owner of the said deposit may withdraw
 it from them in this matter. The present agree on
 behalf of the absent; the rich for the poor; the healthy
 for the sick; the living for the dead. Salema & co.

are bound under their personal responsibility and the security of their property - one and all of them, each for the other - to repaying it in full and to return the said deposit to the owner or to whom might claim it all or whatever through this document; and with this, Salema & co. are bound personally and against their property to pay it back and all incurred expenses, costs, losses, and damages to the owner of the deposit - as a result of it - or to his agent or for whatever reason, in retrieving the deposit from the agents and costs. Salema & co. agree to part with their property, the property of each and every one of them - together and separately - wherever they be, and sell it in the amount decided by the court in compensation for the use of the owner of the deposit til it has been met in full. The deposit and the expenses and costs in claiming back the deposit. Salema & co. enter into an agreement with the owner of the deposit, his agent or whatever, with this deed and the bond is their word without taking oath nor having witnesses to compel them as to the deposit, all this (conditions) and its fulfilment, undertaken against their persons and wealth - in stock, distributed, tied up, invested, set aside or otherwise. Salema & co.'s security is 180 head (of cattle) of different species, all valuable to them. They agree to be detained, retained or pressed on account of the said deposit wherever it be or with whom, and to be deprived of sanctuary, refuge or otherwise. Salema & co. acknowledge and consent to the owner of the deposit, his agent or whatever, the power to claim the said deposit and costs and expenses and to raise objections before any judge. They will forsake the judge of their choice and place themselves before the court and submit to the JURISDICTION AND DEALING of ANY judge of the owner of the deposit's choice, his agent's or whatever through this document. (They agree) they can be summoned to the court of THE JUSTICIA OF ARAGON or his representative. Salema & co. agree that they may not profit from delay in settling the clause on the said deposit. With this deed there is no escape or otherwise and THE FUERO (Royal Charter) in which they have 10 days to meet the claim to be held or cleared or otherwise does not apply. (They agree) they would forsake all that, everything would be cancelled and stopped if they have not freed themselves by paying back the deposit and incurred costs or whatever and to the decision of the owner of the deposit to seize it, or the clearing of the debt at the hand of a notary public as binding. Salema & co. are under obligation to the owner of the deposit for the totality of it by right, in law, without contention nor dispute, they swear to this under oath that it is incumbent on them by God and there is none but Him. All the witnesses confirm this which they were told by them - that is in this document - that they know Salema, Musa and Mohamed and that they heard it in the state described above. This being on 13th February of year 901, in the disaster since called Saragossa.

I wrote this deed as stipulated above, (I) Abi Mohamed Ibn Musa Ibn Yahya Ibn el Hasan el Hammami, God grant him his wish in His kindness! with the permission of the faqih known as Abi Ishaq Ibrahim el Setina, attendant to the mosque of the Muslim quarter of the district of Alhama at the date of the deed and the noble faqih - having asked permission for it and at the request of those present and the opposing party under restriction and for greater perfection, the recording was made with the firm permission of the opposing party above mentioned and so, with the authority of those under obligation, the deed is valid as to its injunction. Peace and guidance from God! End.

I, Ibrahim el Setini el Bane Halidji, attendant to the mosque in the above mentioned quarter and notary public, having granted permission to the noble, brilliant and learned faqih to write this document, thus defined and binding, recorded with me thus, I wrote the witnessed account in my hand. Thanks be to God, Lord of the Universe!

As with the selection of texts from Valencia, we have illustrations of reported speech and a witness's account. Doc. 15 and Doc. 16 reflect respectively passive competence and oral production (active competence) within the Mudejar community. It is obvious that Doc. 15 shares most of its contents with Doc. 13. This is due to the similar nature of both documents and to the use of common legal expressions. These were collected in treatises (1), adapted and copied out to fit the circumstances. Yet there is a difference between the two documents; the latter far from being a copy of the first, expands the legal arguments towards a greater specificity, ensuring greater protection for the depositor, and providing a wealth of information on financial transactions, e.g.: Doc. 13: bi-hāqā l-‘aqdi matā šā‘at (may retrieve it) "through this document at (the owner's) wish..."

1 A few survive: i.e. Ms.5452-1 BNM. Formulario.

Doc. 15: bi-hādā l-‘aqdi min-him aw min ayyi-him min šā’i matā radī wa aḥubbi (may retrieve it) "through this document from them or from any of them, in this matter, until (the owner) is satisfied and content".

Another major difference is the low level of borrowing in the present deed, some 10 items in all. This coincides with the fact that the two parties are Moslem. One question remains: Why did they refer possible arbitration to the Justicia de Aragón (principal magistrate) rather than settle it by Islamic law? The possible absence of qādīs (Islamic judges) does not provide the whole answer.

Feature analysis

1. V S O dominant: aqarru salāmat bi qabḍ
[V N I N]
2. Triliteral root derivations:
barāwāt yabru‘u barāt
maḥbūsīn li-ḥabs yaḥbisūn
3. Case ending morphs. In the original, there are a few diacritics indicating some awareness of them, but they usually do not conform to classical usage. They represent a preliminary stage to their loss:
lā kišāmin (-an); ṣāhibu l-wadī‘at...aw/ṭ-ṭālbi (-u) but
bi-l-‘aqdi, fī ṣiḥḥati-him
4. The occurrence is sometimes unpredictable:
ḥasab sīrat l-maḡlis (the court has not been specified).
5. Particles appear in new contexts: kunbuls min ayy ḥākim, min = "of", also in: min ‘inda l-maḍkūr.
6. V deletion: kamā huwa maṣṣūṣ a‘lā=h
[I V -->∅ N N]

8. V'an: wa kulifa ... 'an tasabab
 [I V [I V]]

12. See 6.

13. bi mā dukira, is another instance of a shift in relativization as mā is preceded by a preposition instead of an N component, (cf. alladī in Granadan and Valencian Arabic).

14. lladī V: lā l-fuweru alladī yu'ayyina ... li-tālb.
 [I N [N V I 'N]...]

Average number of nested clauses per string: 1.

17. lā is the sole negative, possibly an umbrella form.

19. Borrowing is of two kinds: (i) Proper names: fabrīru "February", a slot filler for the otherwise Islamic calendar; (ii) Hybrid forms: [an ta'amal šekusiyun fī-amwāl-h=m, where the surface string is clear, but not so the underlying structure.

Where Arabic has [I V-hu Ø I N...]

and Romance [(I) N or V Ø I N]

but not V N which is possible in Arabic when N is derived from V as in dafa'a daf'.

Convergency in the underlying structure between the two models produces an Aljamía innovation "to do partition" (to part with) which is also an instance of pidginization.

Doc. 16, a witness's account, 1501.

yawn s-sabt s-sādis 'ašar min šabān l-mukarram muwāfaqan ma'a
 s-sādis min mārs 'ām sādīsāt ba'd tis'amā-yat iftaqada yūsuf bnu
 muḥammad l-wars kamā wakīl 'an muḥammad du 'alī li-l-nāyib
 l-mukarram yūsuf n-naḥr-h kamā ḥākim min mawḍi' abraḡyat an
 yukallif li-muḥammad l-ḡ-tūrī 'an yašhad mim mā 'alima bayn muḥammad
 karīmat wa-ḡuwan šabaṭa ḡār min mawḍi' l-wāqat wa amr n-nāyib
 l-maḡkūr li-d-dalāl 'abd allāh l-ašqar bi-t-taklīf li-muḥammad

l-maḍkūr bi-l-iḥḍar 'inda-h wa ḥaḍara muḥammad du 'alī l-maḍkūr fī
 maḡlis-h wa amar-h n-nāyib l-maḍkūr bi-l-yamīn min qawl l-ḥaqq
 minmā 'alima bayna-humā wa ḥalafa muḥammad du 'alī bi-llāh alladī
 lā ilāh illā huwa wa qāla fī tawdiyat ṣahādat-h kayf karīmat
 l-maḍkūr akraḡa-h li-muḥammad du 'alī arbiṭuh 'an-h wa ḡuwa nṣapaṭa
 akraḡa arbiṭuh 'an-h li-ibrāhīm al-lluwenḡuh alamīn kāna fī
l-fūr min qal'at turāb wa-muḥammad du 'alī wa ibrahīm al-lluwenḡuh
 l-maḍkūrān nazaran kitāb-humā wa muṭālab-humā wa-mudāfa'-humā wa fī
 ḥaḍrat-humā aqarra l-maḍkūr muḥammad karīmat anna-h waḡib li-ḡuwa
n-ṣapaṭ l-maḍkūr alf wa saba'mā-yat šuld de-luś kuwaleś febah-de
penšiyūn-h a-ḡuwan l-maḍkūr mā-yat wa-sab'īn šuld fī kull wāhid
'ām de lukuwal fizu siyerta-h paḡah l-maḍkūr muḥammad karīmat li-
ḡuwa n-ṣapaṭa l-maḍkūr pur manuh de nuś-utruś wa qabḍ ḡuwan l-maḍkūr
la-paḡah šubre diḥah wa 'alama-h ḍ-ḍayyafat duṇa dianira de luna
 wa aḡadat tuda akeṣta paḡah wa radda-hā li-muḥammad karīmat l-
 maḍkūr i-nuś utruś luś arbiṭuś šubre diḥuś fīziyemuś eškerebir tudu
luke rreṣtaba a-deber al-diḥuh karīmati li-ḡuwan ṣapaṭa l-maḍkūr. i-
depuweś kuwandu kituh la-šeñuriyah tudu luke debiyanh enbereyah
a-ḡuwa n-ṣapaṭa laḡayde antun derbaś i-yalaalamīn yūsuf sa'ad
šakurun-h me amih muḥammad du 'alī kuntadur kun-h utruś unberes de
lluḡar i-kuwandu benimuś al-kuntuh deldiḥuh karīmat per nusiyananh
ke paḡaše el-diḥuh karīmat duś miḥ šuwelduś i-yuh nu-kušentih
enakell=h i-dišiyurun luś utruś amih ke-eś luke-buś i dezi-eś
i-dišyuh yu-me tarābadu e-nel kuntu i-yel nudebe šinuh miḥ
i-šetesiyyentuś šuwelduś i-pur laḡura ke feč=h kenuh diḡuh šinuh
laberdaḍ wa ḥaḍā mā ṣahada muḥammad du 'alī l-maḍkūr 'alā wa qarru
 wa rūḥ bi-ṣahādat aḥmad l-bāl-n l-mu'allim wa 'abd ar-raḥman l-ḥuṣnī
 š-šayk. wa katabah bi-amr wa iḡin min waḡib 'abd l-'azīz r-rik-lī
 kādīm wa kātīb ḡāmi' mawḍi' abreyahwa bi-h ṣaḡḡ intahā. y: vowel in Ms.
 —: loan —: Aljamia

Translation

Honourable agreement (finalized) on Saturday 16th Shaban, 6th March year 906. Yusuf Ibn Mahomed el Wars examined as representative of Mahomed du Ali, the agent, the noble Yūsuf el Navarro?. As magistrate of the Brea district, he charged Mohamed el Ġ-tūrī to testify as to what he knew about Mahomed Karima and Juan Sapata, a resident of the district at the time?. The agent ordered the broker Abdallah the Fair to bear upon Mahomed to come before him. Mahomed du Ali came before the court and the agent ordered him to speak the truth under oath about what he knew concerning both parties. Mahomed du Ali swore by God and there is none but Him and said in a favourably disposed statement how the same Karima dismissed any ARBITRATION (1) on behalf of Mahomed du Ali and Juan Sapata did the same concerning Ibrahim el Luengo, former headman by Charter of Calatorao. Mohamed du Ali and Ibrahim el Luengo considering the written agreement between both parties, the claiming back and the payments. In the presence of both parties Mahomed Karima acknowledges that he is under obligation to Juan Sapata for 1700 PIECES (silver) OF WHICH 170 ARE PAID IN A YEARLY ALLOWANCE TO the said Juan. The same Mahomed Karima PAID PART OF IT, THROUGH US; to Juan Sapata and the same Juan received THE ABOVE MENTIONED PAYMENT. He knew of the annexation of DOÑA DIANIRA DE LUNA; she kept THE WHOLE PAYMENT and withheld it from the same Karima. AND WE, THE ARBITRATORS, WE COMMITTED TO WRITING WHAT WAS STILL OWING to Juan Sapata BY THE SAID Karima. AFTER, WHEN HIS LORDSHIP TOOK ALL THEY OWED, HE WOULD SEND for Juan Sapata, Anton Derbas, the governor, AND Yusuf Sa'ad, the headman. THEY TOOK ME?, Mahomed du Ali, the ACCOUNTANT, ALONG WITH OTHERS FROM TH. IS PLACE AND WHEN WE CAME TO Karima's HEARING, THEY INFLICTED? UPON HIM THE PAYMENT OF 2000 PIECES. I REFUSED AND THE OTHERS SAID TO ME: WHAT DO YOU SAY? I SAID, I FIND, IN THIS ACCOUNT, THAT HE OWES NO MORE THAN 1700 PIECES AND THIS, ON OATH THAT I AM SAYING NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH. - This is what Mahomed du Ali said in his statement, he agrees for himself as to the statement Master Ahmed el Bala and Abderrahman el Huṣni, the sheik. Abdelaziz Ricla, attendant and scribe to the mowque in the district of Brea, wrote this on request and with permission - as he should. It is valid. End.

- 1 Block writing: Aljamía . The verb is ambiguous, it has a further meaning "to pick out" which is more probable in the circumstances.
- 2 We suggest the following: Mahomed du Ali, ~~el~~ Ġ-tūrī, and Yūsuf el Navarro, the agent, served as Magistrate in Brea. The present hearing is taking place in Ricla.

This statement marks a turning point in the contact situation, with its first signs appearing in Doc.13 (1484), whereby indirect speech is in Arabic, but the actual words uttered on the occasion are in Aljamía. The next two texts confirm this state of affairs. Written Arabic, therefore, still survives as a prestige idiom; oral fluency is rare. The Mudejares (Moorish subjects) use an admixture of Romance and Arabic in conversation. Although this point appears to have been reached towards the end of C15 in the region of Saragossa, it may well have happened earlier. Only dated documents between 1246 (Doc.12) and 1484 (Doc.13) could establish more precisely this fact.

Feature analysis

1. V S O in reported speech with reversals.
2. Derivation from trilateral roots present:
iḥḍār ḥaḍrat; yašhad šahādat šahada
3. Case ending morphs: one doubtful instance, karīmati.
4. li-l-nāyib l-mukarram yūsuf;
li-d-dalāl ʿabd allāh

The use of the article diverges from that of most Arabic varieties.

5. To compensate for the absence of case, there is an abundant use of particles, some with non-"classical" functions assigned to them:

muwāfaḡan maʿa s-sādis min mars
maʿa: "belonging to persons" becomes "of things"

an yukallif li muḡammad an
wa amar n-nāyib li-d-dalāl

li: is becoming an umbrella term converging with Romance particle al, as in:

luke rreštaba a deber al dičuh Karīmati a ḡuwan

where al is a calque of li in Aljamía, but where Aljamía is divergent from Castilian:

lo que restaba a deber el dicho Karima a Juan.

6. kamā ḥākim 'an yukallif
[I V→Ø N [I V]]

7. Coordination is marked by wa only, and the systematic coordination is transferred into Aljamía with i-. Converging deep structure.

8. V an: kamā ḥākim min mawḍi' abrāyat 'an yukallif li-m.
[I V→Ø N I N' [I V I N]
... an yašhad mim mā
[I V [I]]]

12. kamā V: see 8.

13. Relativization. mā V: haḍā mā šahada ...
N [N V ...]

14. llaḍī V: 1 instance in oath formula.

Average number of nested clauses per string: 2.

17. Negation: 1 instance in oath formula.

19. Romance borrowing goes a stage further in this text:

Within the Arabic context, there are:

i) Slot fillers or Romance lexical items:

šuld, mārš, ḡuwa-n, nabarroh?

ii) Hybrid forms:

wa ḡuwa n-ṣapaṭa akraḡa arbituh an-h li-ibrāhīm.
[I N V N I N I N]
A R R A Alj. A A A

which reflect unpredictable alterations in the underlying structure.

iii) Calques where the slot fillers are Arabic but the deep structure is Romance:

muwāfaḡan ma'a s-sādis min mārš

acuerdo del 6 (hybrid?) marzo
fī: Ar.

Aljamía makes its appearance where Arabic intelligibility breaks down. This includes hybrid forms. About half the text is in Aljamía; however, let it be said that Aljamía is not standard Romance. It is a reduction or converging of the different features found in the "Languages in Contact": Arabic and Castilian. This brings this mixed idiom into the area of Pidgin rather than Creole, on account of its idiosyncratic character and lack of internal standard. Creoles, on the other hand, possess this internal unity, a slower pace of change as well as greater scope of registers - from the formal to the colloquial. per nusiyanban-h ke pağaše el-dičuh karīmat duš milh šuwelduš, per nusiyanban-h is an innovation. It may have semantic and phonetic associations with pronunciaban "they declared" or presionaban "they bore upon". Equally, it may derive from pernicioso "harmful".

Another feature of this variety is the consonant cluster reduction: árbित्र becomes arbituh, después as depuweś. Both highlight convergency between and not identity with either Arabic or Castilian.

Analysing the text as a whole, there are two more points worthy of consideration:

i) The first one, met before, is an increasing degree of ambiguity arising from "fuzzy" clause boundaries caused by the absence of Invariants:

l-mukarram muwāfaqan ... iftaqada yūsuf
 N N V N

1 or 2 clauses?

ii) The second point is the fronting of the adjective in its several phases:

- . qal'at turāb "dusty fort, Calatorao"
N Adj.
- . muḥammad ḡu 'alī l-maḡkūr "Mahomed..., the above mentioned"
N Adj.
- . aḥmad ... l-mu'allim, "Ahmed ... Master"
N Adj.(title)
- . l-mukarram yūsuf "the honourable Yusuf", fronting for stylistic emphasis
Adj.(title) N
- . l-mukarram muwāfaḡan "the honourable deed", analogy.
Adj. N
- . l-maḡkūr muḥammad karīmat "the above mentioned Mahomed Karima"
Adj. N

This fronting of the adjective points to the switching from V S O to S V O. Other examples are given in 4.

The Aljamía content will be considered at greater length in Part IV.

The last two texts are statements made before the qāḡī (judge of Islamic cases) of Calatayud, around 1507. They illustrate the previously described state of affairs, whereby the Islamic community used preferably Arabic in writing and Aljamía for oral purposes. The texts show awareness of this situation and provide some evidence towards the linguistic status of Aljamía. These texts were edited and published by Fernández y González as XCI and XCIII (1).

XCI

yawman l-aḡḡi li-wāḡiḡin wa 'asrīna mina šahr fabrīr muwāfiḡan
ma'a l-'ašrat l-awwalā min hilāla šawwāli mina 'ām itnāy 'ašra
ba'da tis'māyatīn mina l-ḡaḡarata ḡaḡara bayna yaḡay l-qāḡī
ibrahīm (2) qāḡī rabaḡ muslimī maḡīnati qal'ata ayyūba muḥammad de
mūman min r-rabḡi l-maḡkūrī wa-ašataḡā (3) ilā l-qāḡī l-maḡkūr
fa-ftaḡada-hu fī luḡati il-āḡamiyyat wa-qāla sidi (4) al-qāḡī

C: Fricative consonant; V: Vowel diacretic in original; —: Romance

- 1 Fernández y González (1866:436,438), Mss.5452/17 BNMadrid.
- 2 HJB: ibrahīm l- šq, ? in Ms. l-ušq? "Huesca"
- 3 HJB: compare to Ar.Cl. ištakā
- 4 G y F: simā'u.

yū ke-nturru i-kīyeru pur el-ufisiyuh ke teneš ke-me haḡāš

ḡuštisiyah de isma'il (1) el-hiḡuh de faraḡ l-muḡtār pur ke el me'a

-daḡu kun-un-taḡuh i-me dišuh ke-yū-h bi-niyah de kaštah de

ḡuḡiyuš lu-kuwal=h a--ke-štuh tuḡu purubare⁽³⁾ šahada alay-h il-ašhādī(3)

l-qāḡī faraḡ muntašinuh wa ibrahīm de madīnat.

Translation

Sunday 21st February corresponding to the first ten days of the moon of Shawwal, year 912 AH.

(The following) presented himself before Qāḡī Ibrahim, qāḡī of the Moorish quarter of Calatayud, one Mahomed de Mumen of the said quarter, lodged a complaint with the same qāḡī (who) questioned him upon the matter in the Aljamía language and he said: ... (4)
O Qāḡī! I WHO CAME HERE, I WANT YOU, BY THE POSITION YOU HOLD, TO DO ME JUSTICE, BECAUSE Ishmael, THE SON OF Faradj l-Muḡtar SLASHED ME AND SAID I WAS OF JEWISH STOCK, I SHALL PROVE IT ALL. The public notaries of the qāḡī, Faradj MONTESINO and Ibrahim DE Medina confirm this.

Block Letters: Romance or Aljamía.

XCIII

yawm t-talātā el (5)-kāmisa 'ašar mina šahr 'uḡtubar muwāfiḡan ma'a

el-'ašratī l-aḡirātī min hilālī rabī' l-aḡir mina 'am aṭnay 'ašar

ba'da tis'mā-yatin ḡaḡara bayna yaḡī s-sayyid el baīle šanḡuh sapatah

ibrahīm (6) de baṇuṭ l-maḡkūr wa qāla fī luḡati (7) al-'aḡamiyyati

šeñur baīle nu-puwadū -fallār 'akah fiyansa šublikū le-me (8) de tiyenpuh

šiyete diyaš para taraḡar (9) fiyansa ū-parendaš para šeguridat-h

de laš-dāšpensas 'i-yel-šeñur baīle diḡuh le diyuh uḡu diyaš en

perešensiyat 'i-yen-te šte muñansa de 'abdalīh? ..

C:Fricative consonant; V:Vowel in original; :Romance

- 1 HJB: There is a further letter in Ms after lam: l either ل or ل
- 2 HJB: in Ms.
- 3 HJB: 'ala išhādī in Ms.
- 4 GyF: simā'u.
- 5 l in Ms alternates with ل al. There is no way of telling whether it represents free variation or two phonemes.
- 6 HJB: ibrahīm muḡammad in Ms.
- 7 HJB: luḡati-hi in Ms.
- 8 HJB: in Ms.
- 9 HJB: غر, نر tar-erḡr with CCC in Ms.

Calatayud (Aragon)

Fernández y González
(1866:436 ff).

يَوْمَ الْاِحَدِ لِوَحْدِ عَشْرِينَ مِنْ شَهْرِ
بُشْرِيرِ مُوَأِفَا مَعَ الْعَشْرَةِ الْاُولَى مِنْ هَلَالِ
شَوَّلِ مِنْ عَامِ اثْنَى عَشَرَ بَعْدَ تَسْعَايَةِ
مِنْ الْحَجَرَةِ حَضَرَ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ الْقَاصِي
ابْرَحِيمِ قَاصِي رُبْعِ نَسْلَبِي مَدِينَةِ فَلَعَةٍ
أَيُّوبَ مُحَمَّدٍ دَا مُوسَى (sic) مِنْ الرُّبْعِ
الْمَذْكُورِ وَاشْتَكَى إِلَى الْقَاصِي
الْمَذْكُورِ بِاتِّفَادِهِ فِي لُغَةِ الْعَجَمِيَّةِ وَقَالَ
سَعِ الْقَاصِي يُوكَانْتَرُ إِيكَارُتْرُ أَلِ أَبِينِهِ
كَأَنَّكَ كَمَا هَفَاشَ جُشْتِيهِ دَا إِسْمَاعِيلِ
أَلِجِهْ دَا بَرَجِ الْمَخْصَارُتْرُ كَا أَلِ مَا أَدَا
كُنْشَجِهْ إِمَّا دِشْ كَا يُوبِينِهْ دَا كُشْتِهْ دَا
جُدَيْشَ لِكَوْلِهْ أَكَاثَهْ تَدُ بَرَبُوا شَهْدَ
عَلَيْهِ الْأَشْهَادِ الْقَاصِي بَرَجِ مُنْتَبِئِ
وَابْرَحِيمِ دَا مَدِينَةِ

يَوْمَ الثَّلَاثَا الْخَامِسَ عَشْرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ أَكْتَبَرِ
مُوَأِفَا مَعَ الْعَشْرَةِ الْآخِرَةِ مِنْ هَلَالِ ربيعِ
الْآخِرِ مِنْ عَامِ اثْنَى عَشَرَ بَعْدَ تَسْعَايَةِ
حَضَرَ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ السَّيِّدِ الْبَيْلَا سُنْجِهْ
سَبْتِهْ إِبْرَحِيمِ دَا بَانْتُ الْمَذْكُورِ وَقَالَ
فِي لُغَةِ الْعَجَمِيَّةِ شَانْتُ يِلَا نُبُوذُ أَهْلَارَ أَكِهْ
فِيْنَسْ شُبْلَكْ أَمَا دَا تِيَانَهْ شِيَا تَا دِشْ
بَرَبَرُغْرُ فِينَسْ وَبَرَانْدَشْ بَرُ شَاغْرُذَتَهْ
دَا لَشْدَا شَبَانْشَسْ إِيَالْفُتْرُ يِلَا دِيجِدْ لَا
دِيَهْ أَجْ دِشْ إِنْ بَارَاشَانْسِيَّةِ
إِيَانْتَا شَتِيْمَنْشَسْ دَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ

Translation:

Tuesday 15th October corresponding to the last ten days of the moon of Rabī' II, year 912 AH.

(The following) presented himself before the magistrate Lord Sancho Sapata, one Ibrahim de Bañot and he said in the Aljamía language: LORD MAGISTRATE! I CANNOT FIND SURETY HERE, I BEG YOU TO GIVE ME TIME, 7 DAYS, TO BRING IT OR SECURITIES AGAINST EXPENSES. AND THE SAID LORD MAGISTRATE GAVE HIM 8 DAYS IN THE PRESENCE OF 'Abdaliāh? acting as WITNESS.

Both texts are in the same handwriting. From February to October, the qādī Ibrahim seems to have been replaced by the baile Sancho Sapata. Could he be the same person? The evidence for this assumption is:

- i) The same scribe serves in the two cases as notary public.
- ii) The retention of the lunar calendar in a non-Islamic court.
- iii) The continued use of Arabic as an official language when the questioning was in Romance.

Against it is:

- i) The fact that the qādī's jurisdiction is the Moorish quarter, not so the baile.
 - ii) Furthermore it is unlikely that a former qādī should accede to an important social position in a Christian society.
- Whatever, this last document is a historical puzzle.

Feature analysis

1. V S O: wa qāla fī luḡati al 'aḡamiyyati
[I V I N]
2. The texts are too short to confirm the presence of this feature.
3. Case ending morphs appear in the oblique case and coincide with classical usage:

li-wāḥḍin, min r-rabḍi l-maḍkūri

These forms co-occur with divergent realizations:

min hilāla, mina l-haḡarata

4. The use of the definite article does not follow classical usage; there seems to be some hesitation as to when it is used:

l-qāḍī ibrāhīm qāḍī rabaḍ muslimī madīnati qal'at ayyūba
 N N N N N N

(l-qāḍī ibrāhīm wa huwa qāḍī rabaḍi l-muslimī min madīnati...) would be closer to the formal style; the succession of N components in apposition, as in the above string, is foreign to Arabic. Compare this string with a similar context where the article l- is retained: ašhādi l-qāḍī.

5. Particles occur in new contexts:

ba'da: in dates, 'ām atnay 'ašra ba' da tis'amāyatin

7. wa...fa coordination is present in text XCI.

There are no embedded clauses.

19. Romance borrowing: (i) proper names: Fabrīr, Muntašīnuh; (ii) direct speech is in Romance and will be considered in a later chapter.

Summary

The language continuum for the Muslim communities of the Kingdom of Aragon, early sixteenth century, expressed in terms of features, may be seen thus:

Formal	←	VERNACULAR : ARAGONESE ARABIC	Colloquial	Mixed Forms	Ġamī	Romance
"Classical" Arabic (Middle-Arabic EI def.)	Features	1494 letter	1496 Doc.15	1501 Doc.16	1506 Catalayud	
				DIRECT SPEECH		
	1. VSO Order	+	VSodominant	VSodominant	+	
	2. Der.	+	+	+	-	
	3. Case	+	+	-	+	
	4. Art.	?	+	+	+	
	5. Part.	-	+	+	+	
	6. V-Ø	+	+	+	-	
	7. wa-fa	+	-	-	+	
	8. V'an	+	+	+	-	
	9. V li V	-	-	-	-	
	10. V'alā'an	+	-	-	-	
	11. law V	-	-	-	-	
	12. kamā V	+	+	+	+	
	13. mā V	+	?	?	?	
	14. lladī V	+	+	-	-	
	15. llatī V	-	-	-	-	
	16. mā (neg)	+	-	-	-	
	17. lā V	+	+	?	?	
	18. lam V	+	-	-	-	
			Features common to Maghribi dialects			
	na-V (imp)	-	-	-	-	
	aš, awš	-	-	-	-	
	TOTAL	13	10	8	5	
			Mixed forms		Mixed forms	

With the widespread use of ^CĠamī for oral expression, one may assume that a large minority could speak some variety of Castilian.

Written competence of a very small minority.

Change

Although source material for this last period is relatively abundant, that is compared to other regions (Castile, Extramadura), change is difficult to assess on account of the very few documents extant from the previous period corresponding to the late Middle Ages. Therefore if one is to remain within the same register, one can only compare Doc.13 (1484) with Doc.15 (1496) or Doc.16 (1501). In order to avoid legal jargon, the latter has been chosen, covering merely a span of 17 years. The two documents are remarkably close in features. This variety of Arabic was, then, relatively stable, with a slight tendency to simplification in the expansion process: relativization with llaḍī is less frequent in Doc.16.

The state of a given variety is always better appreciated, whenever possible, in perspective; from the outside as well as by detailed analysis. Let us compare, then, Doc.16 with another of a similar nature from Valencia: Doc.149, dated 1511. Both are court statements.

Cross dialectal table of features late C15 to C16

Features	Saragossa Doc.16 (1501)	Valencia Doc.149 (1511)
.1 Word Order VSO	VSO dominant	flexible
.Morphemic alternations		
2 Derived forms RRR	+	+
3 Case ending morphs	-	-
4 Articles deviant from Cl.Ar.	+	+
5 Particles expand their domain	+	+
6 V → ∅	+	1 case
7 wa[] fa[]	-	+
.Subordination		
8 V'an	+	?
9 V li V	-	-
10 V'alā'an	-	-
11 law V	-	+
12 kamā V	+	-
.Relativization		
13 mā V	+	+
14 llaḍī V	?	+
15 llatī V	-	+
.No.of nested clauses per string	2	1 to 2
.Negation		
16 mā V	-	+
17 lā V	?	-
18 lam V	-	-
.Romance borrowing	+	+
TOTAL	9	11

They differ in several points:

- 1) The Valencian text, despite it being older, is more diversified in features. For instance, it makes full use of the complete system of relative markers, each with its specific domain. Whereas Doc.16 suggests that mā V is the umbrella, all-purpose form.
- 2) Another example would be the wa...fa coordination, where fa almost always is the first to go, with the loss of the semantic opposition between wa...fa, "and...so..."
- 3) Particles: In the Saragossan document, li is becoming the most common particle, as explained before.
- 4) Romance borrowing has a very different status within these varieties: in Valencian Arabic, the odd lexical item; in Aragon, direct speech is preferably in Aljamía.

5) Finally, with regard to those specific features, characteristic of North African Arabic, such as na-V (1st pers.sing.) and particles derived from ayyu šay', these seem to be absent from Aragonese Arabic; in Valencian, they do occur, but not so frequently as in Granadan Arabic.

7.4.4 Navarre

We have been unable to trace any texts for the period for the region of Navarre. This coincides with the absence of figures in Lapeyre's studies on census counts of Moriscos for the C16 and C17.

PART IV: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
GRAMMARS OF LATIN-BASED DIALECTS
AND THEIR CONTACT WITH ARABIC

CHAPTER EIGHT: LATIN BASED VARIETIES

8.1 Latin vernacular, Mozarabic Romance

Previous to C9, the texts are in Latin with the odd reference to a Romance lexical item. Consequently, Romance reconstruction has been on a word basis, limited almost exclusively to phonological and morphological considerations.

At the time of the Moslem invasion the linguistic continuum of the Christian population can be described as follows: At one extreme, the formal style consisting of a relatively accurate use of Latin, a middle range of Vulgar Latin, that is local usage Latin that was spoken on occasion (synods) and previously referred to as Vernacular, which included the more popular (non-written) varieties of incipient Romance.



Linguistic continuum of the Christian population of Hispania

- 1 Lapesa (1959:93-94): "The Romance spoken in Spain at the end of the Visigothic period was in its formative stage... It was not very different from other varieties of Romance outside the Peninsula. Among the characteristic features of the former were the splitting of vowels o and e in closed syllables into diphthongs ue and ie, the gemination or palatization of initial l and forms such as auro, carraira, palomba and pueyo...common to vast areas of the Peninsula."

There was no real break as yet in the continuum. The educated could still trace the learned Latin form in the colloquial cognate, and the scope of the continuum or the difference between written Vulgar Latin and colloquial speech was narrow or small. The appearance of old Spanish glosses (i.e. Glosas Emilianenses) in C10 indicated a loss of this linguistic awareness. Learned Latin forms have to be translated into the more familiar Romance. This entails a broadening of the continuum. Alternatively, one can say that Latin had become a "dead" language. Vulgar Latin was very much alive and had changed substantially since the fall of the Roman empire, diverging from the classical model. This "drift" away explains the new state of affairs and the need for glosses.

As for the Visigoths, they had but little influence on the linguistic situation of Hispania. They had learnt Latin at an early stage and ceased to use their own dialects. These were obsolescent by C7 (1).

The events of 711 caused a major upheaval in the sphere of languages, the like had not been seen in Europe within living memory. Although Latin continued to be used among the Christians, it had ceased to be the official medium in public life. How can one fathom the dismay that overtook the Christian community at the thought that the language of the Roman empire that had prevailed for centuries was being replaced by another nobody had ever heard about? This fact more than any other must have seemed to no small number the beginning of Chaos,

1 Lapesa (1981:118). Also Alonso Martín (1962:40): "The Goths hardly changed our syntax which continued to be and is still Latin based. Spanish-Gothic writers used Vulgar Latin as their written medium."

Trial and Tribulation. Furthermore, the community was for a long period completely isolated from the rest of Christianity. The Latin vernacular and Mozarabic Romance that evolved from it acquired a new status: from being essentially the common speech, now used by Moslems and Christians (1), it became the heritage of the Christian community and the symbol of its culture. These connotations held in check the rate of change and explain the conservative aspect of this variety which attracted the attention of Menéndez Pidal (2). Just as many Romance words were borrowed into the Arabic varieties, it is reasonable to suppose that a great many Arabic lexical items made their way into Mozarabic Romance. To what degree? It is impossible to say without surviving texts.

Converts to Islam, it is true, mastered Arabic for religious reasons; nevertheless, it is equally logical to assume that conquerors and subjects would resort to hybrid forms, indeed pidgin on many occasions for lack of a better method of communicating, at least in C8 and probably until the Caliphate.

By C10, Arabic had firmly established itself even among the Christians; the translation of the Psalter by Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar (3) was not a single event, there were other attempts made by the Church to adapt the liturgy to the changing needs of its flock. Latin was losing ground to the ubiquitous Arabic (cf. Alvaro and Eulogio's stand, 1.2). They had tried to stem the tide.

- 1 See 1.2 and 1.3. Also Ribera (1928:I:27-28): "Vulgar Arabic and Vulgar Latin were alternatively used by the same people, not only by Christians of Moslem Spain but also by the Moslems of Andalusia."
- 2 In Ribera (1928:I:36).
- 3 Dunlop (1955:221).

Some of their correspondence has survived and has been collected with the literary production of the Mozarabs by Gil (1). The following excerpts have been chosen to illustrate the various styles of the period and see whether any Arabic influence can be detected at the syntactic level.

I. Letter from Eulogio to Alvaro:

"Carissimo in Domino Iesu Xpo fratri meo Alvaro Eulogius. Olim, mi frater, tranquillitate vegetatus domestica et pacatis familiaribus curis cuncta mihi commodius prosperabantur. Verum dum subito omnes ex martyrio beati Isaac turbamur totaque urbs tantae rei novitatem, coepere omnes tam clerici quam laici magnimenter colere quod actum est summoque honore tanti praedicatoris extollere constantiam."

II. Letter from Alvaro to Eulogio:

"Reuerentissimo patri Eulogio Albarus. Repriorasti, mi domine, emolumenta priorum et anteriorem iamque oblitteratum fulgorem catholicum ceu fontem obturatum vitae aeternae saturum ex Iesu pectore scaturientibus profluens venis reserasti fidelibus uniuersis. Ille enim qui aetatis nostrae huius miseratus errorem athletarum suorum occultum propalauit agonem, ipse magnum prae omnibus inspirauit doctorem, quem talium uerissimum accingeret laudatorem." (2)

III. Pseudo-Hagiography:

"Et dum ambularet ut ennarraret uerba Domini ad eos,
[I I V [I V N N I N]]
infirmatus est ac uocatus a Domino. Et precepit unum
[V [I V? I N] [I V N
de monacis suis, cui nomen erat Ocim, ut pergeret in
I N [I N V N [] I V I
Erribon ut loqueretur ad eos uerba quem angelus Domini
N [I V I N N [N N N
preceperat loquere ad papam Osium episcopum. Qui puer
V [V I N N N]]]]] [N? N
-nomen erat Ozim- dum audisset uerua doctoris sui quem
[N V N] I V N N [N
narrauerat ei angelus Domini, dum pergeret et diceret
V N N N] [I V] I V
satrapum eorum ad quem ordinatus fuerat, dum ascenderet
N N [I N V] [I V
in Erribon, inuenit angelum temptatjonis istantem in arborem
I N [V N N
ilicis, abentem similtudinem angelici." (3)
]]

1 Gil I. (1973). v = u

2 Eulogi Memoriale Sanctorum in Gil (1973:363-365).

3 Gil (1973:709).

Translation (1):

- I. "My dearest brother Albaro Eulogius in Our Lord J.C.,
For some time now, brother, strengthened in domestic
peace and the usual worries having abated, every thing
had become easier for me. But then, suddenly, all of
us -who had been perturbed by the execution of blessed
Isaac- and the whole town (were rocked?) by the novelty
of such a thing. All, clergy and laity, began to praise
(him) greatly for what he did and many proclaimed with
the greatest tributes (his) steadfastness."
- II. "Very Reverent Father Eulogio Albarus,
My Lord, the reward, the first and foremost now
forgotten spark of Catholicism has been rediscovered
by you as if ? the plentiful spring of eternal life
(flowing) from the Heart of Jesus having stopped had
been tapped by you, flowing through the veins of all
the faithful. Indeed He? who, having taken pity on the
error of our age, sent forward a hidden champion from
his champions, Himself great above all men inspired a
wiser man who gathered such a true flatterer ?"
- III. "And then he set forth to tell them the word of The Lord,
he became sick while called upon by The Lord. And he
ordered one of his monks whose name was Ocim, that he
journey on to Erribo to tell them the message that the
angel of The Lord had ordered (pope?) father Osius, the
bishop to say. This youth - Ozim - when he heard the
message from his teacher the angel of The Lord had told
him, then left and told the ruler of these people what
he had been ordered to say. Then he arrived in Erribo
and met with an angel of temptation in an evergreen oak
under the guise of an angel."

Comments:

All three texts employ frequently the ellipsis, often centered
on a past participle and where the verb has been deleted:

- I. vegetatus
- II. miseratus
- III. vocatus

There is also unexpected high number of verbs in the passive:

- I. prosperabantus
- II. huius miseratus (est)
- III. infirmatus est

which may reflect a general non-distinction or "fuzziness" of
modes.

- 1 Approximate translation only on account of unclear
morpho-syntactic links.

The imperfect subjunctive seems to have acquired the function of an indicative past tense: *ambularet*.

These texts are in Latin (1):

- . Articles have not appeared yet.
- . Case endings are still viable.

Text III departs from I and II in a gradual loss of distinction of

gender:	verba	quem
Latin	neut. +	mas/fem, here fem. sg.+fem. sg.?
	pl.	sing.

and case: *cui nomen erat*
 Latin dat. nom. V for classical gen. (*cuius*) nom. V
 here cui is perhaps identical in gen. and dat.

Could these texts have been influenced by Arabic syntax?

An interesting question. Alas, without immediate answer!

All that can be established is the degree of convergency. A high degree of convergency only points to but does not prove any influence. Greater approximation could only be determined in the presence of an Arabic version. Convergency is expressed in the number of common features to be found both in Arabic and in these texts.

- 1 Menéndez Pelayo (1962:4): "This Vulgar Latin was different, mainly on account of its tendency to use periphrastic constructions where classical Latin had used a synthetic construction; prepositions substituted classic declensions ...and instead of the synthetic form of the genitive plural: cervorum, the people said: de cervos and the future form: cantabo gave way to: cantare habeo."

Features	Arabic		Latin	
	Formal style	Vernacular (poetry: C11 to C12)	I, II	III
1. word order	VSO +	VSO + with reversals	free -	V (S)O +?
2. RRR	+	+	-	-
3. case ends.	+	+--->∅	+	+--->∅
4. articl. deviant	-	---> +	-	-
5. part. expansion	-	+	-	+
6. V deletions	+	+	+	+
7. sys.coordin. <u>wa</u> , <u>fa</u>	+	+--->∅	-	+
8. V' an subord.	+	+	not in text (V ut)+	
13. relat.	----->specific to Latin			

Out of 9 possible present features, I and II share 2: case endings and V deletion. Any influence appears remote.

With the formal styles of Arabic, III shares 4 possibly 5 features: case endings, V deletions, systematic coordination and subordination of a similar nature. Word order is an added possibility. With Vulgar Arabic the similarity of the underlying structure increases: both show a trend towards the loss of case endings and a predictable expansion in function of the particles, raising the number of features to 5, possibly 6. With text III, the degree of convergency is strikingly high.

The richest source of Mozarabic Romance is Arabic poetry in vernacular. This was studied in detail in 7.2.1. Of the many unanswered questions that beset this literature, those concerning doubtful transcriptions (1) and dating are worth recalling. As regards the latter the facts are as follows:

(i) This poetry falls roughly into two types. The karġa or quatrain and the zaġal, a complete poem. Whereas the karġa may be entirely in Romance, this is never the case with the zaġal.

(ii) The authors of the karġa are Moslems and Jews, using a foreign language "^CAġamī". To which some reply that Mozarabic Romance was no longer considered "foreign", but rather another variety used alternatively to Vulgar Arabic (Arabic vernacular) (2). However, in the karġa of Ibn Khātima (C14, Granada), there is no Romance whatsoever.

(iii) The authors of the Romance karġa span a period from 1050+ to 1145 (3), which coincides with the massive emigration of Jews and Christians as a result of the Almoravid invasion. Indeed, a substantial number of remaining Christians were deported to North Africa. The problem of dating must reconcile these facts (4).

For the linguist, an equally important issue is, as mentioned previously, the authenticity of the ^CAġamī content. Granted that it is the case, what is the nature of Mozarabic Romance?

1 Hitchcock (1980:20): "Nevertheless the effect, for me, of the transcription in Roman script is to create - somewhat capriciously perhaps - an atmosphere of false security..."

2 Cf. Ribera, chapter 8, note 2. Also cf. Simonet.

3 See 1.2.

4 Tompson (1970) Bilingualism in Moorish Spain.

The *karġa* selected in 7.2.1 represent the scope of Romance borrowing from the odd lexical item in (i) to (ii) which is completely Romance, and (iii) and (iv) illustrating the middle range. If (ii) is more than a coincidence, then Mozarabic Romance was in Cl2 a dialect similar in status to the other Romance dialects spoken in the north of Spain. Illustrations of this particular dialect are so limited as to raise the question of its existence. On the other hand, if (ii) is a happy coincidence, the (iii), (iv), together with the Romance in the *zaġal*, represent one of the varieties of popular speech in Al-Andalus. This variety overlaps from Arabic into Romance and the resulting admixture, analysed in 7.2.1, is comparable to a creole.

With the Almohad invasion in the second half of the twelfth century, the non-Moslem population of Al-Andalus had emigrated, been deported, massacred or had converted. Mozarabic Romance as spoken by the Christian community in isolation had ceased to be of any use. Those who resettled in northern Spain influenced greatly the now diverging Romance dialects. These, in turn, modified no doubt to a greater or lesser degree the Mozarabic Romance the Andalusians spoke.

8.2 Latin vernacular and diverging Romance dialects

When the break came with the Moslem invasion the Christians in the North (at first the Astur Kingdom, then Navarre, followed by Aragon) had reached a stage in the development and use of the vernacular comparable to that of the Christian community in the South. At the formal end of the linguistic continuum, they wrote Latin. This Latin was also a *koiné* in exchanges with members of other communities; when spoken, it

came more and more under the influence of popular speech (Romance), occupying the other end of the continuum. There were two significant factors that redirect the course of further changes:

I. Latin remained the prestige language, unchecked until it was replaced by Castilian, Catalan or Portuguese. It did not have to stand up to the pressure of Arabic as a competing official language as was the case in Al-Andalus.

II. As a result, Romance in its different varieties, with no other pretension than fulfilling the medium of common speech, was free to develop unchecked by the conventions of writing.

In C10, the Glosas Emilianensis, with one of the texts in Romance, mark, as mentioned before, a loss of linguistic awareness. It appears that learned Latin was becoming "foreign", the educated were no longer familiar with it and the first dictionaries or glosas came into use. Here is one of the few prose pieces to be found in the work. Together with it, a contemporary document in Latin is offered by way of comparison and to illustrate the scope of the continuum.

I. Glosas Emilianensis

"Cono ajutorio de nuestro dueno, dueno Christo, dueno Salvatore, qual dueno get eno honore e qual dueno tienet ela mandatione, cono Patre cono Spiritu Sanctu enos sieculos elos ~~sieculos~~. Facanos Deus omnipotes tal serbitio fere ke dinante ela sua face gaudioso segamus." (1)

II. Valpuesta. Document XV, dated 935.

"In Dei nomine. Ego Gutier tibi emtori meo Didacus episcopo, placui, nobi adque conueni ut uindere tibi et ad tuos gasalianes uinea in Liciniana de limite ad limite integrata, iusta limite de Munio, et accepi de te pretio, id est quatuor bobes et canape et plumazo et sabana et bracas et adtorralinia et nicil in te non

1 Hall (1974:110); his translation into English follows.

remansit de ipso pretio aput te; ita de odie die de iuri meo in dominio tuo abeas ipsa uinea confirmata perpetim abiturim. Quo si ego Gutier aut filiis meis uel aliquis de aliqua parte, iam dicto te Didacus episcopo aut posteritas tua, ad iudicio proferre temptaberi, abeas ad me ipso pretio in duplo, et si noster mercatus firmes... Facta cartula uindicionis XII kalendas martias, era DCCCCLXXIII regnante Domini Ranemiri et comite Fredenando Gundesalbiz in Lantarone. Munnio scripsit." (1)

Translation

- I. "With the help of our Lord, Lord Christ, Lord Saviour, who the which Lord is in honour and the which Lord has the dominion with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the centuries and the centuries. May the overpowerful God have us do such service that we may be joyful before His countenance."
- II. "In the name of God. I, Gutier, am content to sell you, Didacus my bishop, as agreed, to you and your companions the vineyard in Licinia, the whole of it, [located] just by the wall. I accept from you in payment 4 oxen?, a bed, a down, a sheet, a pair of trousers and ---- and you owe me nothing more. Therefore as from today from being my right it becomes your property, the same vineyard, in a definite exchange. Should I, Gutier, or my sons or whomsoever be tempted to bring a suit against you, the abovementioned Didacus, the bishop and your successors, I shall be liable to twice the payment. Meanwhile the deal is definite. The bill of sale was established on the 12th day to the Calends of March, year 973 (Brass era) of the reign of Ramiro and Count Ferdinand Gundesalbiz as Lord of Lantarone. Munnio wrote it."

Comments

- I. What distinguishes Romance from Vulgar Latin is:

. The loss of case endings:

mandatio	Latin:	mandationem
qual	Latin:	qualis

case is replaced by particles: the former genitive by de in ajutorio de...dueno

. The appearance of definite articles: ela, elos. When these follow a preposition, l is elided:

con elo	---->	cono
en ellos	---->	enos

Elcock sees this feature as well as the diphthongization of the vowel est (get) as pertaining more specifically to the Navarro-Aragonese area (1).

II. The most striking characteristic of this passage in Vulgar Latin, compared to the Mozarabic texts, is the breaking down of the case system in the erratic occurrence of non-predictable case morphs:

tibi emtori Didacus episcopo
dat. dat. nom. dat.

where Latin requires dative throughout.

ut uindere tibi et ad tuos gasalianes uinea...
cj. inf. dat. cj. p. acc. acc. nom.

which in Latin would be

ut uenderet? tibi et tuis gasalianibus uineam
cj.subjunctive dat. cj. dat. dat. acc.

the string ad tuos gasalianes represents the intermediate stage between the case system and the substitution of enclitic case marks by independent case marks, the particles. The next stage is found in Glosas:

en-os sieculos
part. art. noun

The word order is S V O.

Moreover some of the lexical items are Romance, even Gothic (Germanic):

Gutier: Gothic ?
gasalianes: from gasaljans Gothic
plumazo: Romance
sabana: Romance ?

1 Elcock (1960:405).

Others have undergone such changes from the original Latin that one may question whether the items are still Latin and not Romance:

bobes, canape, adtorralinia, perpetim abiturim...

How convergent are these varieties with Cl2 Arabic?

Feature Analysis

	Arabic		Glosas E	Valpuesta XV (935)
	Toledo 8 (1112)	Saragossa (1117)		
1.VSO Order	+	+	SVO	SVO
2.Derived forms from RRR	+	very few	-	-
3.Case ending morphs	+	+	-	?
4.Articles deviant from Cl.A.	-	-	+(1)	-(1) none
5.Particles expand domain	-	-	+	+
6.V-->Ø	+	+	not in text	?
7.wa-fa coordination	-	-	-	-(2)
8.V'an	+	not in text	?	+
13.Relativization	+	+	+	<u>ut</u> ?
	<u>llati</u>	<u>mā</u>	<u>qual</u>	
Average number of nested clauses per main clause	1	less than 1	1	1
16.Negation	+	not in text	not in text	+
19.Borrowing	+	+	-	-

(1) The appearance of articles separates Romance from Latin.

(2) Coordination is frequent but not systematic.

There is no traceable influence nor convergence in Glosas.

Compare Valpuesta XV to the earliest documents of a similar content. Saragossa is still under Moslem rule, but not Toledo.

Dealing with the question marks first,

Feature 3: Case endings morphs functioning as distinctive features are present but only just, as explained above.

Feature 6: One could have argued for a V deletion in:

vinea in liciniana

N V→∅ I N

however in the past this would give

vinea ea erat in liciniana

or

vinea qui erat in liciniana

The appearance of the verb in the surface structure is subject to the appearance of an (N) subject which is beyond the scope of the rule.

Feature 13: Is there a case of relativization closer to the Arabic pattern than the more usual quid?

(i) accipi de te pretio id est quatuor bobes

V I N N [N V N]

I accept of you the price, it is 4 oxen.

in Arabic

wa 4 oxen

wa mablaġ-hu 4

(ii) accipi de te pretio quid est quatuor bobes.

which is four oxen

All that can be said is that this document is closer in structure to Arabic than the Glosas. However, there is in the style of the document a number of indirect coincidences with the legal expressions found in Arabic documents, rather as if recalled from memory.

- | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|
| (1) | In Dei nomine | bismillāh |
| (2) | vinea integrata | ġamī ^c a l-ġaris |
| (3) | justa limite de Munio | ma ^c a l-'arġi l-bayādī |
| (4) | see above | |
| (5) | nicil in te non remansit
de ipso pretio aput te | abrā'-hā fa-bariyā |

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (6) | de iuri meo in dominio tuo
abeas ipsa vinea confirmata | ṣārat bayḍa-h ... wa
muḥalla dī l-mulk fī-mulk |
| (7) | ad uidicio proferre
temptaberi | lā da'wan, lā
huḡḡat wa ṭalab |
| (8) | mercatus firmes | bi l-baī ^c l-batil ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ |
| (9) | Munnio scripsit | kataba... |

The only difference is: (i) that the document is couched in the first person, and (ii) the dating. Perhaps the scribe was a Mozarab, with some knowledge of Arabic legal documents? (1)

As explained previously, popular speech was free to develop just as any other patois or local variety, uncurbed by the conventions and standardization of writing. Furthermore, at the beginning of the Reconquest, Christian centres of culture were isolated from each other; as a result the local vernacular underwent different changes, some gradually, others much more rapidly in Galicia, Navarre and Catalonia (2). Once these regions acquire their independence, popular speech diverges to an even greater extent. For the vernacular was seen as a means of expressing one's cultural identity against the designs of the neighbouring state. The internecine struggles of Leon and Castile run parallel to the rivalry of Leonese and the rise of Castilian as standard dialects. This type of situation was and is common even today.

Almost simultaneously with the expansion of the new Romance dialects, a continuous flow of Mozarabs and later of Jews

- 1 Hoenerbach (1961) noticed the same similarity between Christian legal documents of the time and Arabic legal formulae.
- 2 Menéndez Pidal (1968:5): "There is no precise moment in time when one can say that the modern languages were born. When these begin to be known through C9 and C10 texts, we find them quite distinct one from the other."

arrived from Moslem Spain. A great many Arabic loans entered Romance, all the more so since they came with a higher level of culture than the one they found in northern Spain (1). The borrowing, according to García de Diego, was a natural process for the Mozarabs as they were bilingual; he mentions in particular the contribution of the large Christian community of Saragossa at the time of the fall of the city to Alfonso I of Aragon in 1118. They introduced and enriched considerably Navarro-Aragonese with a new vocabulary of which he gives examples (2). As with Saragossa, Toledo attracted a large number of new settlers from Al-Andalus, escaping beyond the reach of the Berbers. Their impact on the current linguistic situation may be observed more precisely on account of the numerous extant documents.

BORROWING OF ARABIC LEXICAL ITEMS

Here are a few examples, from documents in Vulgar Latin:

In the act of donation of the castle of Alcalá to the See of Toledo in 1134 (3), there is:

- i) almuneis "farms, gardens"
- ii) aldeis "hamlets"

The first adopted straightforwardly into Latin with the article l-. In the second instance the article is indirectly present, either as a-ddeis, where d is /ð/, therefore foreign to Latin.

- 1 Lapesa (1959:107-108): "Arabic loans. Until C11, for as long as the Peninsula looked towards Cordoba, they made their way into Romance, unchecked and free from competition from elsewhere... Arabic did not affect the Spanish phonological system and only slightly its morphology. Its grammatical structure like that of any of the other Semitic languages was too different from the Romance system to allow any [Arabic] imprint."
- 2 García de Diego (1946:288).
- 3 González Palencia (1945:114).

As such it becomes ld as in another example below in which l-qādī becomes alcalde, or as al-deis, in which case the occurrence of al- is by false analogy to almuneis. In Arabic, the article l- is realized as a dental phoneme by phonetic assimilation when it precedes a noun beginning with an initial dental phoneme.

Both nouns have Latin plural morphs -is, which may be interpreted as a hybrid form or as a fully naturalized loan on par with terris, acquis. In the list of witnesses to the document, there is:

- iii) Aluazil Julian
- iv) Aben Lampader
- v) Petrus Velidiz
- vi) Cidi Velidi

iii) Aluazil "clerk, sergeant" is similar to i). The fronting of the office before the holder is Romance rather than Arabic word order.

iv) Aben from Ibn (Ar.) Lampader (Mozarabic).

v) Velidiz, a hybrid form. Velidi (Ar.) proper name, -iz (R.) suffix meaning Ibn "son of".

vi) Cidi Velidi, Arabic.

In a later deed, donating the hamlet of Cortés to the See of Toledo in 1167 (1), the witnesses are identified as:

- i) Ortí Ortiz Alcaiat en Toledo
- ii) Melendo Lampader ... Alcaldes
- iii) Estevan Illan, Alga-zil
- iv) Dominico Cidez ... Almosserifes

i) Alcaiat "governor" from Ar. gawiyā "strong, superior"; see almuneis.

ii) Alcalde "mayor"; see above.

iii) Algazil (above Aluazil) is slotted in the same position as in Arabic.

1 Anonymous, Paleografía Española (1758:87-88).

iv) Cidez (see Velidiz). Almosserifes "intendant, treasurer" has a Romance plural morph.

In a further and last deed, marking the donation by Queen Alienor of an altar to St. Thomas à Becket to the Cathedral of Toledo, in 1179 (1), among the witnesses there is Melendus Lampader, Alcallus Toleti de Mozaravis. The above-mentioned alcalde has become alcallus, illustrating attempts to latinize Arabic loans. This form, however, only had temporary acceptance; Spanish retained the older alcalde.

If a large minority of the inhabitants of Toledo still spoke Arabic in the years up to 1212, we consider the linguistic continuum of the majority to be illustrated by the two following excerpts: I, representing the formal range; II, Romance. The colloquial end of the range is taken up by popular speech of which there is no record. Any Arabic influence appears confined to the middle and possibly the lower ranges of register/style.

I. Agreement, dated 1191, in Vulgar Latin. (2)

In Christe nomine, & eius gratia. Ego Doñus Alvarus Johannis, Vir Doñe Micia, & ego Salvator Johannis neto de Doña Maria Mescabello, donamus a poner unam terram, que habemus sub dominio Talavere, & in termino Fontanellas, & habet terminos contra Orientem nostram terram : contra Meridiem maiolum, quod posuit Petrus Prior Sancti Michaelis in terram nostram : contra Occidentem rivulo de Fontanellas: contra Aquilonem similiter terra nostra. Nos supradicti donamus hanc terram tibi Nunio Levita Sancti Michaelis, ut plantes in ea maiolum, sicut mos est. Of the 6 witnesses, 4 sign in Roman script and 2 in Arabic.

1 Anonymous, Paleografía Española (1758:87-88).

2 Ibid., p.95.

- II. Contract of exchange, dated 1206, in Romance with Vulgar Latin formulae (underlined). (1)

In Dei nomine, et ejus gratia. Esta es avenencia, e camio, que fezo Donna Cecilia, Labadessa del Monasterio de Sant Climent, con voluntad e ortogamiento de nuestro Senior, e Padre onrado Larcebispo de Toledo Don Martino, e Primat de Spania, quem Deus salvet & onret. Labadessa nomrada fezo esta habenentia con Don Fernando Pedrez, fillo de Don Pedro Matheo, que Deus perdone. Tal abenentia fezo, que del dia doy delessa Don Fernando Pedrez, e des esses de toda la heredad quel tenie en Aldea Darganz el, e ome por el, de terras, vineas, ortos, prados, molinos, casas, corrales, solares entradas, y essidas, e de quantas derechuras avie en Aldea Darganz la conomrada de las Aldeas de Toledo, e delessos, e, dessessiose de poco, e de mucho, como que lo avie, o lo devie ad haber, e delessolo al Monasterio de San Climent... The deed is signed by a number of witnesses, including the primate in Roman script, followed by 3 signatures in Arabic.

Translation

- I. In the name of Christ and by His grace. I, Don Alvaro de Juan, spouse to Dona Micia, and I, Salvador de Juan, grandson to Dona Maria Mescabello, we offer the use of a piece of land we have in the area of Talavera in the district of Fontanellas and which has as boundaries: to the East, a field of ours; to the South a vineyard owned by Peter the Prior of St. Michael, in our field; to the West the stream of Fontanellas; to the North also, a field of ours. We, the above mentioned give this land to you, Nuño, the Deacon of St. Michael, that you might plant a vineyard in it, as is the custom.
- II. In the name of God and by His grace. This is the agreement and the exchange that Dona Cecilia, the Abbess of the Monastery of St. Clement undertook of her [free] will and with the permission of our Lord, honored father, the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Martin, and Primate of Spain. May God save and honour him! The above-mentioned abbess made this agreement with Don Fernando Pedrez, son of Don Pedro Mateo. May God forgive him! The agreement is such that as from today, Don Fernando Pedrez relinquishes the estate, in its entirety, he has in the Hamlet of Arganz, personally and whomsoever on his behalf, by way of fields, vineyards, orchards, meadows, mills, houses, farmyards, holdings with entrance and exit rights, and whatever other rights he had in the said Arganz, a hamlet of the hamlets of Toledo, these are relinquished, be they more or less important including those rights that should be his, he relinquishes them all to the Monastery of St. Clement...

Comments

I. Text I reflects the ultimate stage of Vulgar Latin, before it overlaps into Romance. The case system has almost disappeared, syntactic function is indicated by particles and word order. The result is a hybrid text, half Latin, half Romance, e.g.:

donamus a poner unam terram

Lat. R. R. L. L.

[V [I V] N]

The underlying structure is Romance rather than Latin, where the main V tends to come at the end, marking the end of the string. There is no apparent influence of Arabic, besides the two above-mentioned signatures.

II. This excerpt is no less interesting, in that it shows the deliberate choice of Romance to Vulgar Latin. The variety used is not quite Castilian yet, for it retains several features that were discarded in Spanish:

- . Conservation of the initial /f/: fezo, Fernando, fillo
- . fillo has not become fricative yet fijo, hijo /iço/
- . One sees the first signs of final vowel elision:
Climent, Primat

Apart from phonological differences, one should take into account the syntactic remarks below.

The text, as we said, reflects a state of transition with traces of Romance-Vulgar Latin overlap:

i) Quem Deus salvet. Latin
 N N V

ii) Que Deus salvet
 Ro. L. L.

iii) Que Deus perdone
 Ro. L. Ro.

What is even more surprising is that these are Arabic calques, applied to people and things (Toledo). This custom enters

into Romance at this period and is still present in Spanish. It is only recently that they have ceased to be productive. Que Deus perdone has the modern equivalent: ¡Que en Gloria este! Quem Deus salvet et onret: ¡Dios la guarde a Vd. muchos años! En Aldea Darganz la conomrada de las Aldeas de Toledo is another calque; Castilian will have: en la sobredicha aldea de Arganz de T.

The following string is odd on at least two accounts:

(1) the place of the definite article (see below); one expects el onrado arcebispo.

(2) Primat de Spania is separated from the first part of the title, larcebispo. Compare nuestro Senior e Padre onrado Larcebispo de Toledo Don Martino e Primat de Spania... and:

- (1) el muy reverendo padre y señor, el obispo de Ávila;
- (2) Muy reverendo y assí sabio varón, Don Alonso de Fonseca, Arzobispo de Sevilla.

Padre onrado is probably a calque. Padre as a title is preceded by the adjective which is usually reverendo. If onrado qualifies larcebispo, then the article should come before onrado (see above).

The agglutination of the article l (≠ el, la) in Larcebispo, Labadessa is isomorphic with Arabic.

As for the contents of this document, they are very similar to Docs. 7 and 8 of Nuestra Señora del Pilar. Saragossa (1). The Vulgar Latin gloss of doc. 7 shows some influence of Romance, but the language is closer to Latin than the Toledo 1191 agreement. When one compares the Arabic deeds to the Vulgar Latin gloss of one of them, one observes the

1 See Appendix 1.

remarkable detail and subtlety of the contracting conditions expressed in the Arabic. This explains more than anything why the Church used Arabic to its advantage rather than the impoverished Vulgar Latin. The 1206 Toledo contract of exchange is invaluable; it is one of the first successful attempts to equal in Romance the flexibility of Arabic. When this stage was reached Arabic could and was replaced as prestige language by Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese.

Castilian had emerged as the Romance variety of the region around and to the north of Burgos. The local inhabitants were dissatisfied with their links with the kingdom of Leon. They broke away and declared themselves independent towards the end of C10. It is likely that the rapid changes observed in their dialect ran parallel to their political history for the reasons explained previously. Indeed, where they conquered and re-settled the land to the south, pushing back the borders with the Moors, Castilian became the common speech. It appeared late in writing (C12); first, it had to compete with Vulgar Latin; then it had to accommodate to the Mozarabic influence and the massive borrowing of Arabic loans and evolve its own structure. Neither was Arabic the only foreign element it met with, at this stage of its formation; Castilian was no less affected by French. The high clergy had been formed by the monks of Cluny; not only did they impose a new liturgy, they introduced a novel style of writing. Their script was clearer and easier to read; nevertheless this change brought about a rejection of past Mozarabic culture.

The reign of Alfonso X, in the second half of C13, saw the translation of a number of treatises from their Arabic originals; this was carried out often by Jews and converts

under Royal patronage; the king took a personal interest in the translated Romance version, suggesting many corrections to clarify the expression. He also sponsored other scholarly works, i.e. General Estoria, Primera Crónica General, especially a new legal code Siete Partidas. All were written in Castilian. It had become the official language of the kingdom under Ferdinand III (1). Alfonso X, his son, provided the interest, the necessary stimulus and scope that shaped this Romance variety into a fully fledged language. Here are two samples of these works:

I. The story of Joseph, Castilian version written towards the end of C13.

"Et cuenta la Estoria de Egipto que sopiera el rey Pharaon Nicrao la culpa en que aquellos sus oficiales cayeron contra el, et fuera desta guisa: diz que yazie el rey durmiendo una noche, et uino ael en suennos uno en semeiança de omne et dixol: el tu copero et el tu çatiquero an conseiado como te maten, et guarda te dellos. El rey esperto en cabo del senno, como contesce a todos los omnes las mas ueces, et asmo la razon et paro mientes en el suenno et acordol bien, et grand mannana enuio por el copero et por el çatiquero et dixoles lo que sonnara et demandoles quel dixiessen si era verdad. El copero non quiso mentir assu sennor el rey et dixol que assi era fablado. El rey estonçes, por sacar dellos mas la uerdad et saber mas del fecho, dixo les esta razon: ¿como podiedes asmar atamana nemigo et tamanna traycion como esta, ca yo nunca me apparto mucho con tales como uos nin esto sennero, mas siempre muy accompanado, por que deuedes entender que non me podriedes uos matar?"(2)
General Estoria, Lib.8.

II. The seige and fall of Valencia to the Cid.

fol.184 "Et cuenta aqui la estoria que la primera cosa que mouio guerra por que Valencia fue perduda que fue la muerte de un alguazil que dizien Abubecar fijo de Abdal-haziz que la tenie estonçes de mano del rey Almemon et finco en el sennorio della despues de la muerte del rey Almemon et de Issem su fijo et mantouo la el muy bien con seso con recabdo XI annos, assi como dize la estoria et

- 1 Anonym. Paleografía Española (1758:24) (a F.III) "se debe la gloria de haber quitado el embarazo de la lengua latina en los Despachos Reales y en las leyes".
- 2 Ford (1906:46,170): "This latter was taken by Alfonso or his collaborator from an Arabic source also, the Book of Roads and Realms of the Moorish (taifa) King of Niebla."

assessego el gran desacuerdo que auie entre los mas poderosos que tienien las fortalezas de la tierra. Et muriosse despues desto aquell alguazil Abubacar; et despues de la muerte dell, cuenta la estoria que se amato la candela de Valencia et que escurescio y la luz.... Et pues que todo esto acaescio a este nieto de Alememon porque los moros se le alçaron et tomaron otro señor en Toledo porque ouo a fazer este pleito con el rey don Alfon..."(1)
fol.214 "Et esto que aqui dezimos de las viandas non lo podian auer sinon qual o qual de los que auien poder. Et con todo esto ya non fallauan uianda ninguna a uender nin los ricos nin los pobres et de lo mas que biuien los omnes que algo auien era de los cueros de las uacas et del caldo que fazien dello; et los omnes pobres comien de la carne de los omnes muertos. Et estaua ya todo el pueblo en las ondas de la muerte; et ueyen el omne andar de-si caerse muerto; assy que se finchio la plaça del alcaçar de fuessas en derredor de la mezquita et las plaças de la villa et derredor del muro et non auie y fuessa que non yoguiessen y mas de diez. Et los que pudien salir, yuan et metiense en poder de los cristianos que los tomassen catiuos."(2)

Translation

I. And the history of Egypt tells of how the king, Pharoah Nicrao, knew of the transgression those servants of his had committed and it was in this way: It says that, one night, when the king was lying asleep and someone in the shape of a man came to him in his dreams and told him: your wine and food tasters have plotted how to kill you and beware of them. The king awoke at the end of his dream as is the wont of most men and reason appeared and he gathered his wits and well remembered his dream, and mid-morning he sent for his wine and food tasters and told them what he had dreamt and requested them to tell him if it were true. The wine taster would not lie to his lord the king and told him that it was so. The king, therefore, to find out more from them and the whole truth, expressed the following opinion: How could you fall for such enmity and such felony, for I never remain long in the company of the likes of you, but am always surrounded? Thus you must understand that you cannot kill me.

II. And History tells that the prime cause that led to the war in which Valencia fell was the death of a governor Abubakr, son of Abdalazziz who had received the city at that time from the caliph and he took over after the latter and his son Isen's death and he ruled with wisdom and discretion for 11 years, and according to History he pacified the mighty who held the forts of the land and stifled the discord that reigned amongst them. Abubakr, the governor, died after that; and after his death, History tells [us] that the candle of Valencia went out and its light was extinguished. And this happened to this grandson of the caliph because the Moors rebelled against him and chose another leader from Toledo; which is why he quarrelled with the king, don Alfonso...

1 Ms. F: Bibl. del Pal. Nac. II-429.

2 Menéndez Pidal (1955:547-8,585).

And this which we have said of the food that was unobtainable for all but a few, excepting those in power and with all that there was no food for sale neither for the rich nor for the poor and the staple diet of those who had anything was cow-hides and the broth they made from them and the poor ate the flesh of the dead. And the whole population was drifting in the waves of death and one could see a man fall dead there and then, so much so that the court-yard of the fort, the [open] spaces round the mosque and the walls and the town squares were replete with common graves and there was no grave with less than 10 dead. And those who were able to leave, fled even to give themselves up to the Christians who made them prisoners.

Feature Analysis

In order to assess the potential influence of Arabic on Castilian syntax in the best conditions, the analysis of the Ibn Djubayr test (1) dated early C13 is contrasted to these to the Alfonsine texts (end C13), both reputed to be written from Arabic sources. Only comparable features are contrasted.

Features	Arabic	Castilian	
		Estoria	Crónica
1. word order VSO	flexible	flexible	flexible
2. RRR	+	-	-
3. case ends.	+	-	-
4. Articles deviant	-	-	-
5. Part.expand domain	-	1 case	-
6. V deletion	+	-	-
7. sys. coord.	+	+	+
8. V'an	+	+	+
12. kamā v	+	(V que) +	(V que) ?
13. Negation	+	(V como) +	+
19. Loans	?	?	+
Total: 11	7	5	5

1 See 7.3.2.

Comments

4. There is no deviancy observed in the use of the definite article in Castilian, it is the mark of determination, once that conceptual choice has been made, the article is generated systematically before the substantive (noun or other).

5. The deviant particle is a in asmar atamana nemiga.

8. In II there is a deviant que which is similar to the repeated use of 'an in Arabic when the string is separated from its V component. que fue la muerte...

19. In II the loans are (i) items accepted into Castilian, i.e. alguazil; (ii) proper names, i.e. Almemon from (amīr) l-mu'minīn "caliph".

Dozy pointed out the occasional ^{strange} expression met in II, quite out of character with the usual style of Castilian met in the rest of the Crónica, e.g.: "A Castilian would not have written in the middle of a very matter of fact account - the candle of Valencia went out and its light was extinguished - for أُظْفِقَ سِرَاحِي بِالنَّسِيَةِ
وَمَغَادِ النُّورِ ظُلُمًا (1) "Elsewhere one finds - and the whole population was drifting in the waves of death - . No Spaniard has ever used this Arabic metaphor." (2)

فَرَا مَوَاجِ الْمَوْتِ

The Arabic text shows 7 present features out of a total of 11; Estoria 5 and Crónica with the highest number of loans 5. It should be noted that Estoria shares 5 features with the Arabic text. This indicates convergency or similarity in the underlying structure of both varieties, which in turn can be interpreted as a syntactic transfer in Castilian. Crónica

1 Dozy (1860:II:40).

2 Ibid.

has four common features. It would seem that the higher level of borrowing is confined mainly to slot filling in the surface structure. Galmés argues for favoured constructions which occur in these texts as being motivated by literal translations from Arabic and Hebrew. Of the examples he discusses, two appear in *Crónica*: *despues de la muerte del . del :: Ar.-hu*, instead of *su : su fijo*, and the use of anaphoric pronouns instead of adjectives: *algunos de los que avien poder for algunos poderosos*. Where the former pattern is possible in Arabic but the latter is not, although it is more acceptable in Castilian. (1)

To balance these illustrations of Castilian taken exceptionally from a literary context, we shall give the Castilian gloss of a Toledo document studied previously in 7.3.3.

Toledo, doc. 628. Sale of a house, dated 1266 (2)

"Conoscida cosa sea...como yo, Marquesa Alfonso, fija de don Alfonso López, fijo de don Lope de Calatrava, conosco que rogué a mis hermanos dona María Alfonso e Estevan, los vendedores que son dichos en la carta arábiga de suso escripta, que vendiesen por mí la mi parte, qual es el un quarto de las casas quellas son la vendida...por precio conombrado quarenta maravedís alfonsíes, a razón de XV sueldos de pipiones cada maravedí; los quales...rescebí de vos los sobredichos vendedores... Et por que esto non venga en duda fiz ende testigos e los que sus nombres escrivieron en fin de esta carta. E demás rogué a don Garcí Martínez e don Gil Pérez, alcaldes de Madrid, que mandasen poner sus sellos en esta carta por testimonio. Facta carta en Madrid, jueves XXVI días del mes de Agosto, era de mill e trezientos e quatro años. Ego Estevan Pérez la escriví por mandado de mi padre don Julián Pérez, escrivano de concejo, e sum testis. En esta carta está sobrepuesto o dice cosa e non empaezca al fecho desta charta. E yo, Julián Pérez, escrivano del Consejo, la fiz escrevir e fiz hy este mío signo +."

1 Martín Alonzo (1962:147ff); Galmés de Fuentes (1955-1956:77)
2 González Palencia (1931:230).

Translation

It is well known how I, Marquesa Alfonso, daughter of don Alfonso López, son of don Lope of Caltrava, admit that I asked my brother and sister, Estevan and doña Maria Alfonso, the sellers referred to in the Arabic document above, that they should sell on my behalf my share that is a fourth part of the houses offered for sale, for the said price of 40 maravedies alfonsies, at the rate of XXV coins (pipiones) to the maravedi. Which I received from you the above mentioned. And so that no doubt should arise in the matter, it was done before witnesses whose names appear at the bottom of the document. Moreover, I asked don Garcí Martínez and don Gil Pérez, mayors of Madrid, that they have their seals affixed to the deed as proof. Written in Madrid, on Thursday 26th August 1304 (Spanish) era. I, Estevan Pérez wrote it on my father's order, don Julián Pérez, Clerk to the Council, and am witness. In this deed there is naught added, said, or declared that was not on the same date. And I, Julián Pérez, Clerk to the Council, had it written and do, hereby, place my sign +.

Comments

The text reflects still the state of transition, discussed earlier. On the one hand, there are a few Latin stereotype expressions: *e sum testis; facta carta*, which are becoming obsolescent:

ego, Estevan :: yo, Julián
et :: e

Their use is stylistic; their purpose is to confer dignity to what is still felt as a vernacular.

On the other hand, there is a fluctuation between the same forms within the text:

escrivieron escribir

is completed in fillo -----> fijo) the sound change /1/ to /3/

Change observed from the 1206 Toledo document.

cluster mr becomes mbr by homorganic labialization:

nomrada -----> conomrada
fillo -----> fijo (see above)

Both changes are characteristic of Castilian.

The only traces of Arabic are the calque:

Marquesa, fija..., fijo ...de Calatrava (X bint, Ibn ---í)

which González Palencia had noticed as well, and the loans

alcalde, maravedí. The form ende is closer to Arabic inda

"with, in the company" than Romance ante. It is probably a

synchronic convergence rather than a derivation from or a loan

from Arabic. A similar case is met with Aragonese enta.(1)

The Spanish particle hasta is a parallel case, that is to

derive it from the Arabic hatta does not explain satisfactorily

how /tt/ became /st/; it seems that there were two phonetically

close forms in Romance and in Arabic (facia, hacia ≠ hata →

fasta) which came to be used in the same environment as a result,

the two forms, by false analogy came to resemble one another.(2)

Which brings us to summarize the Arabic contribution to
Cl3 Castilian and to modern Spanish, later.

Phonology: minimal.

Morphology: morph -í is adopted, e.g. alfonsí, maravedí.

At the morpho-syntactic level,

i) The affixing of the article l- to the substantive occurs
in a number of items: al-calde, al-guazil and transferred by
analogy to almendra "almond".

ii) It favours the formation of verbal pairs:

contecer	acontecer
dormir	adormir
consejar	aconsejar
sosegar	assossegar

The form a-verb coincides with Latin ad+verb and the Arabic IV
verbal measure, expressing frequently an augmentative sense to
the prime meaning. This is also the case in Spanish.

We see hasta and enta as the results of the same phenomenon.

1 See 8.4.G)

2 Entwistle (1980:163-164).

iii) Personal pronouns are appended to the verb, just as they are in Arabic.

At the level of syntax, the systematic coordination observed in Cl3 texts disappears in Spanish, so the redundant use of que conjunction when separate from its verb. The only construction that survives is *he aquí ... V*, *helo from hādā ... V*. There is massive borrowing within the lexical component.

i) Loans, many disappear at the end of the Middle Ages in competition with the later Latin and Greek learned terminology.

ii) Calques are literally translated expressions, consisting of more than one lexical item.

i) Some like de balde are adverbial expressions or quasi-conjunctions as ojalá.

ii) The complimentary expressions of the type seen above, which acquire a new lease of life in the adopted language:

A: "¡Dios le guarde muchos años! B: ¡El conserve tanta gracia!"(1)
A: God keep you many years. B: May He favour such graciousness!

iii) Others have become exclamations: *hala*, *arre*, *olé* (2).

The rise of Castilian and Catalan to the status of official languages marked the death knell of Arabic as a prestige language. The fact that Arabic survived, at all, in a Christian environment is remarkable. The Christians from the North used the medium as a substitute for Vulgar Latin which was no longer felt to be adequate (cf. Mozarabs); the learned had access through Arabic to the Language of Science. Indeed, the Arabic treatises, once translated, were the mainspring of the intellectual revival in Europe; in that sense, Ibn ^CAbdūn was

1 Pan y toros. Zarzuela
2 Asín Palacios (1920:356).

right when he stated that non-Moslems were appropriating the wisdom of the Arabs and therefore he forbade the sale of books to them. Arabic ceased to be used normally among the Christians at the end of C13.

Mozarabic Romance disappeared as well when the regional dialects became prestige varieties. As Alonso explains:

"As for the dialects, Castilian replaces Mozarabic (Romance). The Mozarabic community, dating back to C11 and C12, was numerous, but the Castilian immigrants imposed their speech habits and obliterated the Mozarabic dialect." (1)

One should add that the Mozarabic group lost all political influence after the change of liturgy. The balance of power lay between the French faction and the Castilian nobility. This does not mean that, in war situations, there did not exist a small minority of bilinguals among the army chiefs. Quite a few served as mercenaries to North African and Granadan rulers: e.g. Reverter (2). The same is true of some of the inhabitants "algaraviados" on the borders of Granada who took their flocks grazing the other side of the frontier. (3)

8.3 The Mudejares varieties

Another exception, which includes the case of Valencia, was the exchange between Christian landlords and their Moslem subjects. Arabic survived as the dialect of the Mudejares. They did not speak any form of Romance, at least at the beginning. Hence the charters and documents that defined their

1 Martín Alonso (1962:71).

2 Schack, Valera (1881:II:260). "Nearly all Spanish chronicles speak on many occasions of knights who went...to live with the Moors and remained with them for a long time, even bearing arms against their fellow Christians... In Memorial Histórico Español, vol.IX, there is a long list of them." Also CODOIN vol.39.

3 Cf. Ación Almansa in García Arenal (1980a).

legal status and conditions of work were often in Arabic (see 7.3.1 to 7.4.3). Some deeds show massive Romance borrowing (Urzante, 7.3.3.2) and/or are accompanied by a Romance gloss. Other documents of similar content, written in the regional Romance languages, are worth analysing for the calques. Little by little, these Moorish subjects, themselves, had to use the official language in their dealings with the authorities, once Arabic was no longer understood (Saragossa, Doc.13). By C15, some communities had lost the use of Arabic, they spoke a variety of Romance that was quite distinguishable from the other contemporary regional dialects.

To illustrate these several cases, we shall discuss, to begin with, three C14 texts. The two first are contracts of settlement issued the same year (1312); the last, dated 1315, acknowledges a debt.

- I. Urzante, Navarre. Excerpt from the Christian version of the bilingual document of settlement (see above).

In Dei Nomine. Conoscida cosa sea todos et manifiesta, como nos freyre Guy de Severac, humil prior del Hospital de sant Johan de Jherusalen en Nauarra, entendientes fazer et proueer prouecho et bien et honor del dicho Hospital conçoñsseio de los comendadores et freyres del dicho priorado, et specialment de consseio et ortogamiento de don freyre Falcon de Barre, tenyente nuestro logar en Calchetas, et de don freyre Garci Sánchez de Cay, vicario de Calchetas, et de don freyre Sanz de Atayo, et de freyre Remond de Veyriñas, clauero en Calchetas, damos et ortogamos población, solar et estages en la nuestra villa de Ucrant et en sus términos, a vos la aljama de moros que seredes en Ucrant, sabudamente de luego a uos Caheit Atorelli Caueçala et a uos Mahoma Almorauid ... et a uos Juce Algozi ... et a uos Muga fijo de Çalema Hali, et a toda la uestra aljama et a todos quantos y uenrrán daqui adelant a poblar, ... es a saber que a cada un poblador de uos et de quantos y uenrran daqui enant a poblar, deuemos dar nos et el dicho Hospital, casal conplido ... et cada ocho kafizadas de semnaduras de pieças de la medida de Tudela, et cada

diez peonadas de vinnas, et esto es casal conplido ...
 con ta[l condicio]n otrossí, que uos los dichos aljama
 et pobladores presentes et los auenidos, dedes al dicho
 Hospital en el dicho lugar, la tercera parte de toda
 cullida de pan, de uvas, de oliuas, de fauas, de arbejas
 et de todas legumnes et de todos otros fruytos et
 ortalizas que se y culiran, et esto que se faga bien
 et lealment et con buena uerdat.
 [_____ = Arabic loans]

II. Salilla, Aragon. (1)

Sepan todos homnes. como Nos don martin lopez de Rueda
 et dona francesa xemenci de castellot muller del. Amos
 ensembles de cierta sciencia. Damos et otorgamos auos
 los primeros pobladores que agora uenides apoblar ala
 Villa nuestra de Saliellas a Cadauno de uos ditos pobla-
 dores diez kaffligadas [sic] de trigo sepnadura de tierra
 blanca sitiada entermينو de Regeno de Saliellas et de
 Casanueua. Es assaber: Auos don muça fillo de don
mahomat del rey. et a don juçef fillo de do[n]
Abgeytdabucalem ... et a ali suhermano ... Assi damos
 et atorgamos auos sobreditos moros et a cadauno de uos
 las ditas Dieç kaffligadas de tierra blanca justal con-
 dicion que nos lauredes la dita tierra a medias por todos
 tiempos uos et los uestros bien et complidament ... Et
 quando seran limpios et cernidos los fructos que uos
 que nos dedes bien et liälment la meytat de aquellos,
 adueytos et leuados en el castiello et cambras nuestras
 de Saliellas en poder nuestro, en cadaun anno por todos
 tiempos. Et otro si ... cadauno por todos tiempos la
 oytena part de todos los fructos que uos et los uestros
 colbredes cadauno en el mont nuestro de Saliellas et de
 Casanueua.

Translation

- I. In the name of God. Let it be known and clear to all
 how we, Friar Guy de Severac, humble prior of the
 Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Navarre, intending
 to provide the above mentioned Hospital with profits,
 wealth and honour, in consultation with the [knight]
 commanders and friars of the said priory, especially
 with the advice and consent of Friar Don Falcon de Barre,
 our governor in Calchetas, and of Friar Don Garci Sánchez
 de Cay, vicar of Calchetas ... and of Friar Remont de
 Veyriñas, bursar in Calchetas, we give and grant settle-
 ment, site and leave of stay, in our town of Uçrant and
 its district, to you, the ALJAMA of Moors to be in Uçrant,
 to wit: to you, Çaheit Atorelli Çauçala [leader of the
 Prayer]... and to you Muça, son of Çalema Hali and to
 all your ALJAMA and to whomsoever comes henceforth to
 settle ... to wit to each settler of you and to all who
 come as from now to settle, we are bound to give, we and
 the said Hospital, a complete lot ... and every 8 measures

of grain for sowing in Tudela weights and every 10 ---(1) of vineyard is a complete lot ... on the condition also that you, the above mentioned ALJAMA and its settlers present and to come, give the said Hospital in above-mentioned place, a third of the harvest in bread, grapes, olives, beans, peas, greens of all fruit and vegetable there gathered and this be done properly, honestly and truthfully.

- II. Let all men know how we, Don Martin Lopez de Rueda and Dona Francesa Xemenci de Castellot, his wife, both well informed, give and grant to you, the first settlers who have come to stay in our town of Saliellas; to each one of you, we give 10 measures of wheat for sowing the land [given over to] cereals, located in the district of Regeno of Saliellas and Casanueua, on the condition that you work the same land for a half share forever, that is you and yours, properly and honestly... And that when the fruit has been gathered and sorted, that you give us properly and honestly, half of it, presented and brought to our castle and storerooms that are in our keeping, yearly and forever. And moreover, that each give, forever more, the eighth part of the fruit that you and yours gather on our mountain of Saliellas and Casanueua.

Comments

The Latin-based version of the Charter of Urzante was written in a variety of Castilian (cf. Castilian version, doc.628, Toledo in 8.2). Both have cognates at the same stage of sound change patterns:

Toledo	Urzante
conseio	consseio
fijo	fijo
dichos	dicho
fiz	fazer, faga
et	et

besides sharing the same opening formula. Castilian was, then, the official language of the kingdom of Navarre in C14, with Navarrese existing as a non-written variety. It is the regional forms that situated the text as having been written to the North of Castile:

- (a) some sound changes have not taken place yet, e.g.:

1 Acreage cleared by one man in a day's work (peonada).

Exp. Series: one, repeat in next.
Perimeter calculated for a ring
usually from the coefficient with
radius.

/mn/ --> /mbr/ semnaduras, legumnes. Note the same lack of labialization in conplido. This feature will be characteristic of Morisco Romance dialects in Cl5.

/ʎ/ --> /3/

- (b) cullir is a local form adopted from colloquial speech.
- (c) estages is a technical term borrowed from another Romance variety (Catalan or French).

The Arabic element is confined to the occasional lexical item: aljama "community", kafizada, hybrid form from qafīz "a given dry measure". Peonada appears to be a newly coined term by analogy with yugo --> yugada, kafizada. Could it be a literal translation of the Arabic: riḡāla? There are also proper names which show the effects of Castilian speech habits: yūsuf becomes Juce, losing the final consonant; so has Mahoma. Çaheit, Hali reveal an awareness of the pharyngeal quality of /^c/ approximated with /h/ still part of the phonological system of this Romance variety.

Text II, while being in a different variety of Castilian, corroborates that it had been adopted as prestige language in Aragon too, by Cl4. However, in practice, it was more conservative apparently than was the custom in Navarre; another way of describing this Aragonese variety would be to say that it was less exposed than the other to court Castilian. There is no doubt that the proximity of Catalan must have delayed those sound changes in items that converged with Catalan cognates (1):

1 Lapesa (1959:175): "Aragon's political independence with respect to Castile and its union with Catalonia explain the greater resistance of the Aragonese dialect and the influence of Catalan upon it."

Text II	Catalan	Castilian
oytena	vuit	ocho
adueytos	aditos?	aducidos
fillo	fill	fijo
castiello	castell	castillo

Comparing the two varieties Text II is usually closer to the Latin cognate:

Text I	Text II	Latin
fijo	fillo	filio
dicho	dito	dito
fruytos	fructos	fructos
ocho	oyt-ena	octo

Other sound changes: labialization

conplido (-) complidament (+)

semnadura (-) sepnadura (+) hypercorrection?

The local forms in Text II are:

cambras hypercorrection for camara

colbre-des "to get, obtain"

ensembles possibly a French loan.

There are fewer Arabic lexical items than in Text I, yet por todos tiempos without the definite articles can be traced to an Arabic formula.

The interest of the third document, dated 1315, lies in that it refers to a relatively wealthy Moslem family of Toledo. It is couched in Castilian and not in Arabic, which confirms that Christians had ceased to understand Arabic in that city, shortly after the death of Alfonso X. The family has taken out a loan of 1,500 maravedies; their chattels and women stand as securities to the extent that they can be sold as slaves should the husband and son-in-law default. (1)

1 González Palencia (1931:Indice:245). Compare also to Doc.13 Saragossa.

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como, yo, Mariota, fija de Caçim el pargaminero e muger que fuy de Yuçaf, e yo, su fija Axa Miras, moradores de Toledo, otorgamos e conocemos que fiamos la has de Mahomad, marido de mi la dicha Axa, e moro que es de vos Don Gutierre, arçobispo de Toledo, e fiamos la has desde Mohamad a vos el sobre dicho señor en tal manera que si el doy fecha esta carta en adelant en qualquier tiempo el fuxiere o se traspusiere que nos seamos tenudos de vos le traer e meter en vuestro poder en Toledo, bivo o muerto del día que el fuxiere o se traspusiere fasta dies dias; et si fallecieremos de lo complir assi que vos demos e pechemos por el mill e quinientos maravedies de la moneda blanca de dies dineros el maravedi en que es apreciado. Et que por esta rason que ayades poder vos o quiquier que esta carta muestre por vos de prender nuestros bienes, los entrar o quier que los falledes e vender ende lo que quisierdes e entregad vos de los dichos mill e quinientos maravedies e demas desto, si aver non nos fallardes para vos entregar de nos desto que dicho es que ayades poder, o qui quier que esta carta muestre de nos prender los cuerpos o quier que nos fallades e meted nos en qual prision quisierdes e non nos saquedes ende si non quisierdes fasta que seades entregado de todos los dichos maravedies e todo quanto dicho es que lo fagades sin mandado de alcalde e de otro juez e sin pena e sin fuero e sin calaña ninguna costas e missiones que por esta rason fagades e danos e menoscabos que rrecibades en qual manera quier sobre nos e sobre nuestros bienes sean. Et somos en pagar e cumplir todo quanto aqui dise segund dicho es...

Translation

Let all who read this document know that I, Mariota, daughter of Caçim the parchment maker and wife that was of Yuçaf, and I, Axa Miras, domiciled in Toledo - we grant and recognize that we are bound to serve as security for Mahomad, husband of the said Axa and Moorish subject of yours Don Gutierre, Archbishop of Toledo, so that if from today, the date of the document, onwards he should flee or go missing, we are under the obligation to bring him into your power in Toledo, dead or alive within 10 days of that happening, and should we fail to do so, we are to pay you 1500 maravedies in silver of 10 dineros to the maravedi at the going rate, and so that you or whomsoever shows the document be able to claim our possessions, or ^{wherever they be located} and be able to sell them wherever you might wish in order to deliver the 1500 maravedies and moreover, should the proceeds of the sale not meet the figure, you or whomsoever produces the document, is, hereby, enabled to take us prisoners, at your wish, until the delivery of the complete sum and so that all this might be carried out without calling on the mayor or any other magistrate and without us being able to resort to the "Capitulations" and without you being liable to costs or other inconveniences on our behalf. We are obliged to pay and fulfil all the above...

Comments

The text is written in a variety of Castilian similar to those of Urzante and Toledo 628. The majority of the sound changes are at the same stage:

fija, fagades	fijo, faga (Urzante)
dicho	dicho
et but also e	et
adelant	adelant
ayades	dedes

with the exception of np ----> mp [+ labialization]

complir	conplido (Urzante)
---------	--------------------

This had been noticed in the comparison with the Aragonese text of Salilla.

What is unexpected, however, is the realization of /z/ as [s], and comparing it with Toledo 628:

dies	
rrason	razon (T.628)
jues	
dise	fiz "

Within the morphological system, morph -des refers to 2nd person.

o quier que nos fallades et meted en qual prision

quisierdes

Feature Analysis

1. SVO order but flexible.
7. Coordination is the most frequent expansion pattern.
8. Subordination is also common: V que
11. si V que
13. Relativization occurs as: N que V
16. Negative pattern: non V
19. Borrowing: 3 proper names.

Arabic Influence

Any influence is, at best, indirect, that is not immediately observable. All there is, is that certain otherwise correct expressions to be found in this Castilian text have their equivalent in Arabic legal documents:

muger que fuy de Yuçaf(1)	lllatī kānat zawġan li (Tol.1027)
wife that was of	who was wife to
moradores de	as-sākinu (Toledo 1027)
dwellers (2)	dweller
Et que por esta rraçon que	wa-'arāda šāhibu l-wadī ^C ati aw
and so that for this reason that	that and may do so the owner of
ayades poder o quiquier que	the deposit or
you be able or any who	ṭ-ṭālib ^C an-hu ^{aw} bi-sababin bi
	claimant for him or for any
esta carta muestre por vos	reason with
de..show the deed on your	hādā l ^C aqdi matā šā'at
behalf to ..	this deed at his wish.
	(Docs. 13-15 Saragossa)
e sin caloña ninguna costas	wa'ltazama ... bi-nṣāf wa
and without tax costs	and he is obliged to pay and
e misiones que por esta	'a ^C ṭā ġamī ^C a l-munā'ib ^{aw} wa
nor expenses incurred for	to cover all incurred expenses
raçon fagades e danos e	nafaqāta wa l-kašārāta li-sāhibi
this reason, harm and	costs and losses to the owner
menoscabos que rrecibades	l-wadī ^C at ... 'an tasabibu-h
inconvenience undergone	of the deposit resulting
en qual manera quier sobre	alā ṭalbi
in any way let it be on	from it back.
now e sobre nuestros bienes	(Docs. 13-15 Saragossa)
us and at our expense	
sean	

- 1 The Castilian shows the same ambiguity as the Arabic, she could be either the former wife or the widow of X.
- 2 Parties are identified by domicile in Arabic documents, not so in Christian ones; see Toledo 628.

During the course of C15, the court circles became aware and gradually more interested in the Greek and Roman antiquity. New technical terms, borrowed or coined from these languages, made their entry into Castilian and replaced a great many Arabic words. One of the reasons must surely have been that Latin

had taken on a new lease of life as the scientific language of Europe. The Cl4 texts showed little evidence of any lasting Arabic influence in the syntax and we assume that this is the case from now onwards for all registers, except for the Romance varieties spoken by the Mudejares and later by the Moriscos. It seems they evolved new varieties - called Aljamía by the specialists - influenced in the long run by the standard dialect, but distinctly conservative and with innovations of their own.

8.4 Aljamía

Perhaps in the same way the Jews of the Peninsula had shunned the use of Latin for its association with the Church and had used Arabic instead, the Mudejares had elaborated Aljamía as an alternative to the Christian official languages as not being a medium suitable for the translation of the Koran and other religious works, at a time when they were no longer able to study nor understand Arabic (1). It is not unlikely that these new varieties came to be seen as the language of the Moorish community of Believers, distinguishing "them and us", an attitude which would reinforce divergence from standard (Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese), motivate new developments and favour any feature ascribed to Arabic. Aljamía is derived from a Romance parent but seeks Arabic adoption. This is admittedly an oversimplification, for there were Aljamía

1 Içe de Gebir (1462), "Weighty reasons moved me to interpret the Divine gift of the Koran from Arabic into 'alchamia'." He does not use the word Castilian. "and because the Moors of Castile under great oppression and distress...have lost their Arabic schools." BNM 6016 (K) 1v-2r Memorial Histórico Español, V, pp.247-248.

speakers versed in Arabic (Saragossa docs.). Yet it draws attention to the exceptional nature of these varieties. Moreover, since the Arabic connotations have mostly disappeared, Aljamía is, at times, almost impossible to translate.

Aljamía is seen as different:

"Nebrija says in his Orthographía (1517), when speaking of letter x /š/ of Old Castilian, that the Moors use it for our s and when we say señor, san simon, they say xeñor, xan ximon" (1).

B. de Aldrete (1606), "Those of that tongue habitually change s for x." Colonge goes on to add, from a study of the works of the above-mentioned author, other speech habits such as:

- i) vowel alternations in free variation, "joro" for juro, "hedalgo" for hidalgo;
- ii) voiceless consonants become voiced, in particular p ----> b;
- iii) at the morpho-syntactic level, the infinitive is over-used; the definite article is neutralized as el in the singular (2). These differences are seen by outsiders as characteristic of Aljamía.

What is Aljamía then?

By definition it is non-Arabic, its etymon means "foreign" (^CAğamī). Thus for Arabic speakers, those who used a language other than Arabic spoke ^CAğamī. The moment came when they themselves, having lost their ability to speak Arabic, were to use ^CAğamī - the term borrowed into Romance became Aljamía. There are therefore as many varieties of ^CAğamī and later

1 Menéndez Pidal (1902:26).

2 Colonge (1969:137): "Reflets littéraires de la question morisque entre la guerre des Alpujarras et l'expulsion." Also Caro Baroja (1976:134). He bases his comments on L. de Góngora.

Aljamía as there are of any other Romance dialect of Spain. The ʿAǧamī in Ibn Quzmān's poetry is not the same as the ʿAǧamī referred to in the Saragossa documents (1), neither in place nor in time. Aljamía, the borrowed term, is used - as is often the case with loan words - in a more restricted sense. It describes the dialect spoken and eventually written in (a modified form of the) Arabic script by Moorish communities in Christian surroundings. This dialect is perceived as different from any standard dialect.

This would be the outside view of the phenomenon. We shall let the texts speak for themselves in an attempt to establish what varieties these Moorish subjects spoke where and when.

Apart from the ^{sporadic} loan here and there, the first complete statement in Romance is from 1482. This is not to say that Aljamía did not exist before; it did, particularly in central Spain. One does not yet know exactly when it came to be written - on the one hand there is a lack of documents at this stage and on the other literary works are not dated. As a preliminary step in this study, we shall consider the Romance strings in the dated documents and complete the selection from elsewhere.

A) Doc. 78 Valencia (2) Sale of a donkey.

Dimarts a XIII de agost any LXXXII. Del fet de l'ase, lo preu que yo, alami, he venut a Yaye Chapada, lo preu d'aquell yo he pres e so content de ço que yo he fet."

Translation: "On Tuesday 13th August year 82. On the matter of the donkey. Proof that I, the Headman, went to Yaye Chapada, this proves that I received it from him and am satisfied with what I did."

1 See 7.2.2.

2 See 7.3.2 Barceló Torres listing.

The statement is unfortunately brief and the contents purposefully vague compared to the Arabic version. This means it can be interpreted in two ways: either it is in note form or it is a variety which recalls pidgin in its simplicity and ambiguity.

i) lo preu que yo

N
Proof that I note form

ii) (es) lo preu que yo

V→Ø N
This is to prove verb deletion

iii) lo preu que yo

V
This proves that I, ii and iii are ambiguous.

It could be said that preu (N) would take la as article.

The fact is that we do not know this for certain, gender confusion must be considered as a possibility within a pidgin type of language.

He venut a Yaye is odd in standard Romance (1); it coincides with

daḡaltu 'ilā yaḡya.

The lexical items: fet, venut, ase and the phonology:

aquell /ɛ/, preu /ey/ are characteristic of Catalan-Valencian Romance dialects.

Summing up, there is not enough evidence to decide for one or the other reading; nor is the test, for the same reason, widely divergent from standard Catalan/Valencian.

B) Doc. 13 Saragossa, 1484

Direct speech

diḡu buwenu-h linbiyu dar itumar meṣūra de saraḡūsa-h.
ed de nufirmar nifer firmar de dereitu-h kuntra la-karta.
diča

1 In the sense "that he came to John" is odd, if one means "he went to (see) John".

[Faint handwritten notes]

3. *Impatiens* (Gentianaceae)

(continued)

or prove $\exists x \neg C(x)$ where $C(x)$ has not been introduced? ?

[Handwritten signature]

1

Reported speech

ešta karta pertiyende de kefuwerun tumaduš estuš biyeneš
 deldiğu farag tuledu burel unrrādu mušen tulušanu-h per
 kuradūr de la sennūriyah bur kuwentuš rresağaduš ke le al-
 kansarūn al-diğu farag del-tiyenbu-h kera elamīn de-luš
 diğuš šennureš li-bilād qal at t-turāb i-fuwe kuntentu
 i-balaziyende el-diğu farag ubliğarše en-ešta-h karta-h
 de-nkumiyenda fuwerte i-firme i-baledera šegūn se-debe
 bur rrazūn ke le fuwerun tumaduš tuduš luš dičuš biyeneš
 i-maš sebada tiriğu i un par demulaš i-uštiğadaš ke
 denturu de-šu-kaša se fallarūn. i-ešte aktu-h mandarūn i
 fuwerūn kuntentaš laš parteš diğu el-diğu farag lufiziye-
 še muhammad el- r-q-r ... l-fağih kera la 'ura anşikumu
 nutariyu del-diğu luğar fuwerte i firme i balederu a-
 dannu (1) šuyu ed de-lus suyus ed aburubeğu dela-diča
 šennūriya-h šegun še -debe kumu berešuna ke kunusiya de-ber
 lušubre-diču tiriğu i-kantidat eladiča senūriya i-šakelu-h
 yu muhammad el r-q-r l-fağih de laš nutaš demi padre
 muhammad l-r-q-r ...

(1) nn: /ñ/

Translation

D.S.: I say:- Good; clean; received in measures of Saragossa.
 as stated:- and not to sign nor give power to endorse the deed.

R.S.: This document refers to the seizure of the property of
 the said Faradj Toledo by the Honourable Mosén Tolosano,
 bailiff to His Lordship for monies due by the said Faradj,
 from when he was headman for the abovementioned Lordships in
 the district of Calatorao. And the said Faradj was pleased
 and willing to commit himself by a forceful, valid and firm
 statement - as it should be - because all the abovementioned
 property had been taken from him as well as barley wheat, a
 pair of mules and ---- that were found in his house.
 This document was requested and the parties were satisfied -
 I mean - the said Faradj, that it should be done by Mohamed...
 the fağih as he was then as well as notary public of the
 abovementioned place, a forceful, valid and firm [statement]
 at the expense of [Faradj] and his family and to the advantage
 of His/Their Lordships - as it should be - as he [the fağih]
 had seen for himself the abovementioned wheat and the sum
 with His/Their Lordships. And I, Mohamed ... the fağih
 drew it up from my father's notes, Mohamed ...

The direct speech strings are fragmentary and the comments
 made above would apply here. Are we dealing with a pidgin-
 like variety or note-taking in Cağamī? The utterance is non-
 grammatical with respect to other known varieties, the second
 is only so, as part of unrecorded string. Nevertheless the
 text brief as it is shows features common to Aragonese
 varieties:

ed: an alternative to particle i "and", occurs also in the reported speech text.

fer: a cognate of Castilian fazer/hacer. Neither has the initial /f/ sound change taken place, nor has it been replaced by the Castilian form.

dereitu: this form retains the diphthong /ei/ before /t/, in contrast to the Castilian /etʃ/, derecho.

Aljamía is considered by definition as more conservative.

The forms above would confirm this aspect; another interpretation is to say that it has not been affected yet by the spread of Castilian (1).

linbiyu: /nb/ the lack of labialization or labial assimilation, a feature met in the Salilla text (1312), is still viable in this variety. We see its retention as a distinctive feature of Aragonese Aljamía. It does not occur either in Arabic.

la'ura: "then", common in Aragonese texts ≠ Castilian entonces.

We mentioned earlier that Aljamía was written in Arabic script. However, there was a process of adaptation that preceded the recording in writing. It is obvious that the Arabic script is lacking in symbols representing certain sounds which do not occur in classical Arabic, e.g. [p] and [g].

Both these sounds are frequent in Romance. The scribes used, at times, but not always, conventional symbols (2):

/p/ was represented by bb

- 1 Ribera (1928:431): "The archaic character of their speech may also be explained by the secretiveness and even ill feeling, the faqihs and strict Moslems fostered in the Moriscos regarding the Christians, in order to protect them from losing their faith as the result of frequent dealings with non-believers."
- 2 See notes on Transcription. Clifford (1980:IV): "The Spanish language and the Arabic alphabet are basically incompatible and the marriage between the two has produced a remarkable variety of forms."

/g/ was conveyed by g , since its value was [ɣ].

The difficulty is that one cannot tell whether Aljamía's speakers pronounced /p/ as [b] or alternated [p], [b] for /p/ in free variation. Although it is clear from Colonge (1), they did so to some extent. /g/ poses a similar problem. One of its realizations is [ɣ] in combination with [g]. Did these Moors use only the [ɣ] phone in all environments?

The epenthetic vowels, breaking up the consonant clusters in writing, were they always silent or did they have on occasion phonetic reality? We think they did and that aburubeğu would be pronounced in fact as [aboroβeɟo] not [aproβeɟo]. Yet the writing affords little evidence as to when this happened. The question had to be raised rather than the answer no taken for granted.

lušubre - dīču tiriğu : confusion between el and lo (pronoun) (2)
eladiča : e for en, consonant cluster reduction.

Syntax

The word order is VSO, except in relative clauses:

fuwe kuntentu ... farağ ubliğarše
 V S [V ...]

ešte aktu-h mandarūn las parteš
 O V S

šakelu-h yu
 V S

The syntax appears to be influenced by Arabic. The whole string from i- ešte aktu-h to eladiča senūriya is odd compared to standard Romance (Aragonese).

i-ešte aktu-h (lu)mandarūn las parteš, the anaphoric pronoun

1 Colonge (1969:137ff).

2 It could be the dialectal use of article lo. Lapesa (1981:495).

lu is necessary if aktu-h is in apposition. -h could be a trace of Arabic -hu, although it seems to be usually a mere orthographic convention.

i fuwerūn kuntentaś las parteś lufiziyese muḥammad l-faqīh kera ... del diġu luġar fuwerte i firme ... adannu šuyu ... que/ke lufiziyese would clarify the clause boundaries.

kera l-faqīh anšikuma nutariyu is the grammatical order in Aragonese Romance.

fuwerte i firme in standard Romance would modify the verb fiziyese, here they refer back to lu, possibly even to aktu-h, the connection is lost.

adannu suyu, in standard Romance refers to muḥammad. It can only be a calque of ʿalā nafsi "under his personal responsibility" which makes more sense than the literal translation "at his expense". The whole string, therefore, must be a literal translation of an Arabic statement.

Borrowing, at the surface level, is restricted to proper names and technical terms: faqīh, ʿamīn.

(C) Doc. 16 Saragossa, 1501.

Reported speech

wa ʿ. aqarra ..karīmat anna-h waġib li-ġuwa ..mā-yat wa sab ʿīn šuld fī kull wāḥid ʿām de lukuwal fizu siyerta-h paġaḥ l-maḍkūr ..karīmat li-ġuwa...pur manu-h de nuś utruś ...wa ʿalama-h ʿ-ḍayyafat duña dianira...wa akadat tuda akešta paġa-h wa radda-hā li...karīmat.

Direct speech

i-nuś utruś luś arbituś šubre dičuš fiziyeuś eškerebir tudu luke rreštaba a-deber al -dičuh karīmati li-ġuwa... i-depuweś kuwandu kituh la-šeñurjah tudu luke debiyan-h enbereyah a-ġuwa ...šakurun-h me ami-h muḥammad ʿu ʿalī kundaqur kun-h utruś unbereś de lluġar i-kuwandu benimus al-kuntuh deldičuh karīmat per nusiyan-h ke paġaše el-dičuh karīmat duś mil-h šuwelduš i-yu-h nu-kušenti-h en-akell-h i-dišiyurun luś utruś ami-h ke-eś luke-buś i dezi-eś i-dišyu-h yu-me tarabadu e-nel kuntu i-yel nudebe šinu-h mil-h i-setesiyentuś šuwelduš i-pur laġura ke fec=h kenu-h diġu-h sinu-h laberdād.

Translation

R.S.: "and..Karima agreed that he is under obligation to Juan.-.[for] 170 pieces each and every year of which he [Karima] paid a certain amount to Juan - through us - and he knew of Doña Dianira's annexation* and she kept all the whole payment and withheld it from Karima.

D.S.: And we, the above-mentioned arbitrators, had what was owing by the said Karima to Juan committed to writing. And after, when his lordship took all they owed, he would send [for?] Juan... They took me, Mohamed du Ali, the accountant, along with others from this place and when we came to Karima's hearing, they inflicted upon him the payment of 2000 pieces. And I refused and the others said to me:- What do you say? I said, I find, in this account [that] he owes no more than 1700 pieces, and this on oath that I am saying nothing but the truth.

*It might be read as Doña Dianira found out about it if salama-h is common rather than masculine.

Whereas the passage in reported speech is an admixture of Arabic and Romance in which, as it was said previously (1), it had reached a point where there is no apparent logic as to why a given clause, say

de lukuwal fizo siyerta-h pağah

is realized in Romance rather than Arabic, as in

wa radda-hā li ... karīmat

the text in direct speech is more consistently in a variety of Romance. Returning to the reported speech first, it is clear that borrowing is not a surface phenomenon, with functional markers in one language and slot fillers in another. Here, most of the verbs and particles and half the substantives (adjectives and nouns) are in Arabic, the rest is in Romance. The underlying structure of the text string could be taken to be either as Arabic or Romance. Yet de lukuwal fizo... is unacceptable to Arabic on account of the Romance specific

1 See 7.4.3.

relative pattern, and por manu-h de nuš utruš, while intelligible, is odd in Romance and is in fact an Arabic calque (1). To which one would add that the plural of mano is more usual: por nuestras manos.

Not only is the direct speech passage completely in Romance with exception of two proper names, it has also a selection of embedded clauses. The language we are dealing with is of a greater complexity than was the case in the text immediately before:

fiziyemus eškerebir tudu luke rreštaba a-deber
 [V [V N[N V [I V]]]]
 infinitival cl. relative cl. infinitival cl.

fiziyemus eškerebir :: Arabic IV measure of K T B

i depuweš kuwandu kituh la šeñuriyahtudu luke debiyan
 [I [I V N N[N V]]
 time cl. relative cl.

enbereya a-ğuwa
 V N]]

Aragonese features

Retention of tonic /o/ in kuntuh.

Lexical items tarabadu; ğura; feba-h/eba "había".

Features common to Aragonese and Aljamía

Retention of initial /f/.

Use of vowels other than those predicted in Castilian cognates:

enbereya	enviaría (Castilian)
eškerebir	escribir
šakurun	sacaron
dišyu	dije

Aljamía

We consider the following as characteristic of Aljamía:

- 1 Galmés de Fuentes (1965:537): "Arabic has no possessive pronouns, instead it uses the genitive of the personal pronoun." Here: de nuš utruš.

Consonant cluster reduction: arbituš (rbitr), kušentih (nsent)

Absence of labial assimilation: unbereš.

The influence of Arabic is traceable in:

- i) mil=h i šetesiye^htuš alf wa saba^Cmā-yat (1).
- ii) the systematic coordination :i...i..., particularly in
i-dišyu-h yu-me tarabadu e-nel kuntu i-yel nudebe
which is ungrammatical in standard Aragonese: que el...
- iii) dišiyurun luš utruš ami for V-me or me V (2).
- iv) šakurun=h me ami, ami is redundant, but generated for
the same reason as in (iii) (2).
- v) ke es luke-buš-idezi-eš for fī-hi ...
- vi) nudebe šinuh, nu-h diğu-h sinu-h for lā...illā:no debe
más que...

(D) Doc. XCI, Catalayud (Aragon), 1507 (3)

wa-qāla :sīdī al-qādī yū ke-nturru i²-kiyeru pur el-
ufisiyu-h ke teneš ke-me hağāš ğuštisiyah de isma^Cīl?(3) el-
hiğu-h de farağ l-muqtār pur ke el me'a dađu kun^mtağuhi-
me dišuh ke -yū-h bīniyah de kaštah de ğudiyuš lu-kuwal=h
a-keštuh tudu purubare.

Translation: "and he said:- my Lord Qādī, I have come here
and I want you, by the position you hold, to do me justice
[for] Ishmael? the son of Faradj el-Muqtār slashed me and
said I was of Jewish stock, I shall prove it all."

This statement and the next show that by this time, in
southern Aragon, the Moriscos voiced their complaints and
petitions in Aljamía, to the qādī. By comparison with (C),
the initial /f/ sound change is taking place: hağāš, hiğu=h,
from /f/ to /h/ and Ø.

1 In Doc. 16; see 7.4.3.

2 Galmés de Fuentes (1965:533-4): "Arabic influence is
almost non-existent in the placing of non-tonic personal
pronouns, but is strongly felt in the overabundant use
of tonic forms expressing dative and accusative relation-
ships."

3 Fernández y González (1966:436-8).
See notes on text in 7.4.3.

The voiceless palatal fricative /š/: dišu-h :: diño Cast. (cf. Moriscos are said to use /š/ for /s/) and the unpredictable vowel alternation: bāniya :: Cast. veníā. The expression kastah de ġudiyuś is strange because it is inappropriate. On the one hand it is too literary for the context, one suspects a semitic origin, and on the other: casta judía, or que era judío are more acceptable. It is probably a calque.

(E) Doc. XCIII, Catalayud, 1507.

wa qāla fī luġati al-^Caġamiyyati: šēñur baīle nu-puwadu fallar akah fiyansa šubliku-le-me de tiyenpuh šiyete diyaś para taraġar fiyansa ū-parendaś para šēġuridat-h de laś dešpenšaś i-yel šēñur baīle dīćuh le diyuh uću diyaś en perešensiyat 'i-yen-te šte muñansa de ^Cabd allāh?

Translation: "and he said in the foreign tongue: Lord Magistrate, I cannot find here surety, I beg you to give me more time, 7 days, to find surety or a mortgage as security for the expenses/provisions. And the Lord Magistrate above mentioned gave him 8 days in the presence and according to the statement of ^CAbd allāh? ."

The passage illustrates:

- i) Alternation in the initial /f/ sound change: fallar.
- ii) Absence of labial assimilation: tiyenpu-h.

The oddity of the syntax can be explained, if the text is considered to be the verbatim account of the petitioner. Nevertheless dīćuh usually comes before noun, the post position coincides with that of l-maḡkūr.

taraġar is one of the two corrected forms in the MS, the other might be traer, of which one alternating form is traigo. The scribe seems to be hesitating between these forms.

testemuñansa appears to be an innovation. New specialized vocabulary is characteristic of Aljamía. Testimonio is the usual term; however the status of the witness is different in Islamic and Christian law, hence their statements have a

different value (testemuñansa v. testimonio).

As the next excerpts we have collected are dated towards the end of the century, we shall include quotations from other sources to give a more balanced picture of the scope of Aljamía.

(F) The Mora of Ubeda's speech, (Granada), c.1520.(1)

Puweš ya te dešpideš de mí ašta el diya del ŷuisiyo, toma ešte aluḡ y guwárdalo dentro de tu korazón, porke eš de garande bendisiyón, ke še lo prešentó ŷibrīl a Muḡammad (s.l.m.) I ši Allāh te haze garasiya de llegar a Makka daraš asalem de mi parte šobre la fuweša de Muḡammad (s.l.m.). I maš te kiyero rrogar, aunke andaš en diyaš de garasiya, ke bayaš a bešitar a ŷusé Banegaš, ke eš un barón muy šingular. No es naḡwi komo ^CAlī Šarmiyento, pero eš garande arábigo, i tan akudiḡo ke kawša admirasiyón. I no te dešpleg(u)e šu bišta, aun allaraš maš ke te ḡigo. Allá eš šu morada en la Kuwešta de la Ig(u)era, una legwa de Garanaḡa, a donde tiyene una alkeriya la maš adornada ke ay en toḡoš loš límiteš ḡešta nuwešta bega. I dar-le -aš asalem de mi parte, porke eš amigo i pariylene.

_____ =Arabic ŷ=/3/

Translation

Since you are bidding me farewell until the day of Judgement, receive this verse [of the Koran] and keep it in your heart because it is most blessed, for Gabriel presented it to Muḡammad (Blessing...). And if God grants you [your wish] to go to Mecca, pay my respects by the tomb of Muḡammad (Blessing...). Moreover I would beg you, although you are [keeping] holy days, to visit Yuse Banegas, who is a man out of the common. He is not a scholar like ^CAli Sarmiento, but knows much Arabic and he is so welcoming that it is a marvel to see. And do not spurn calling on him, for you will find it better than I say. His abode is there, on the Cuesta de la Higuera [Fig-tree Hill], two miles from Granada. He has an estate there, which is the best kept in all this Vega [Valley of Granada] of ours. Pay him my respects because he is a friend and a relation of mine.

Comparative Feature Analysis

The following features indicate a converging underlying structure, favouring features found in both languages and avoiding those too different to be integrated. It is this

1 Harvey (1956:300).

drift that separates Aljamía from the regional Romance dialects, not to mention Arabic.

1. Word Order

Arabic (Granadan Arabic. Qirbiliyānī's letter c.1489) (1):
V S O dominant.

F) (the text above): V O. The subject is often understood (forming part of the underlying structure). There are no dummy subjects as in:

a donde tiyene una alkeriya
I V (S) N (O)

Castilian: order flexible. VSO in reported speech, SVO in dialogue.

2. Derivation

Arabic: by infixation within a trilateral root. The process is latent in Qirbiliyānī.

F) dešpleg(u)e (transitive verb) by affixation from pleg(u)e
Castilian: by affixation from stem.

3. Case ending morphs are non-existent in all 3 varieties.

4. Articles

Arabic: Definite articles have expanded their domain compared to classical usage.

F) Definite articles el/la N de el/la/demonstrative marker as in: el diya del ŷūsiyō. Note: dāraš asalem Ø, a is the trace of the article.

Castilian: The use of the definite article is in a state of fluctuation. The definite article is used in conjunction with the indefinite article.

5. Particles

Arabic: Particles are more frequent than classical usage.

F) follows the Arabic model in patterns of comparison:

allaráš maš ke te digo

la maš adornada ke ay en

Castilian: Hallaráš más de
la más adornada de

6. Verb deletion

Arabic: still viable.

F) komo (es) ^CAlī (Arabic and Romance converge in this case)

Castilian: Verbal deletion affects any verb, whereas
ya K-W-N is nearly always the non-generated verb in Arabic.

7. wa..fa coordination

Systematic coordination is characteristic of Arabic, although fa is less common.

F) Systematic coordination in text: i...i...

Castilian: This feature is obsolescent.

8. Subordination: V'an, Vke, Vque

Common to all 3 varieties.

13.-14. Relativization

Arabic: mā V; alladī V

F) donde V (Castilian model); ke V (see later comments)

Castilian: An antecedent is required which is not always the case in Granadan Arabic. Relative markers may be preceded by prepositions: a donde, which occurs in Granadan Arabic (cf. Alcalá).

16.-17. Negation

Arabic: mā V, lā V

F) no V: no es naḥwi

Castilian: no is the most common form.

19. Arabic borrowing in F): Proper names: Makka; technical terms: naḥwi, asalem.

Regional Features

Arabic: na-V (imperfective); aš awš.

F) aluḥ :: al'āyat (Ar.) :: ale'a(s) (Ar. Alj.) (1)

This text shares features with the regional variety of Romance:

/f/ initial is realized as Ø: ašta ay.

/d/ is realized as [š] in all positions.

sīn is realized as [s] admirasiyon, garasiya. The absence of palatization may be conditioned in particular by -/i environment, and could be common in this context to Aljamía in general, see Aragonese texts.

Aljamía

It is seen as conservative compared to standard Romance:

darle-aš (asalem de mi parte) :: dele
garande bendisiyón :: gran bendición

It tolerates unpredictable vowel alternations: bešitar.

It uses vowels to break up clusters: garanada, but ġarnaṭa in Arabic.

It is a simpler variety than parent Romance language.

(a) Certain items are not generated in the surface structure compared to the Romance model, the single Aljamía pattern seems to include the semantic content of the more specific Castilian patterns:

te haze garasiya <u>de</u>	Castilian te hace gracia de "it pleases/amuses you to" te hace <u>la</u> gracia de "grants your wish"
allaráš más ke te <u>digo</u>	más <u>de lo</u> que te digo "more than I can say" por más que te diga/o "however much I should say"

(b) The lack of specific forms and the preference for an all-purpose one results in a degree of vagueness and/or ambiguity in the syntactic functions:

aluḡ .. de garande bendisiyón ke še lo prešento...

ke= que, relative marker?
= puesto que, syntactic marker?

Yūsé Banegaš ke eš un barón muy šingular

ke= que, relative marker?
= porque, syntactic marker?

Castilian went through a similar development in Cl3, from a diachronical point of view, one could say that in this instance, Aljamía is archaic compared to contemporary usage. In its use of specialized vocabulary, Aljamía is diverging from standard Romance:

dar asalem šobre, dar-le asalem: To the non-initiated, there are two different ceremonies in the Islamic Rite; the difference is obscure.

ben-disiyón is not isomorphic with Castilian bendición:

bendición in Romance is active, while in this usage it is passive.

Both terms have different connotations and appear in different contexts.

Fuweša: a hypercorrection? (fosa), or an innovation?

This particular text is deviant in other ways:

. puweš ya te dešpiđeš de mí :: pues ya que te despides de...

See (a) puweš = so?, = since?

. i-más te kiyero rrogar :: y más, quiero rogarte (1)

Odd word order.

. guwardalo dentro de tu korazón :: dentro del corazón.

Redundant use of possessive adjective.

Most of what survives in Aljamía is of a religious content, the next piece is representative of Aragonese texts of Cl6.

(G) Historia de la calavera (2)

bismi il-llāhi ir-raḥmāni rrahīm
ešta eš el-al-ḥadīs de la kalabera ke-nkuntru ^Caysā ^Calay-hi
salam, fiḡu de maryam. fuwe rrakuntaḡu pur luš rrakunta-
dureš pašaḡuš. ^Caysā (^Cs.) pašaḡu un diya pur un palle
biḡu una qalabera baḡanka eḡaḡa šubre la kara de la-tiyar-
ra(3) i-penšu en-el ^Caysā (^Cs.) ši kišiyese al-llāh ke me
fabalaše ešta kalabera a mi i la'ura enbiyu al-llāh (4)
tabāarak wa ta^Cālā i dišu-le fablale i fablarte (5) i kun
al-puḡer de al-llāh akel ke rreḡirka lus ḡuwešuš depuweš
ke šun dešfeituš i la'ura tumu ^Caysā alḡuweḡū i fizu aḡala
duš al-rak^Caš i aserkuše enta la -kalabera i dišu en-el
nunbre de al-llāh i šubre la -kereyensa de-l-anabī
muḡammad (s.^Cm) i la-biyadaḡ de al-llāh šea šubre el i
šubre tuḡuš luš anabiyeš en diziyendu eštaš palabraš bešu
kun la -kalabera ke fablu kun lengwa pal-adīna i dišu...

Translation

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful.
This is the parable of the skull that Jesus (Peace...),
son of Mary found. It was told by former reciters. Jesus
(Peace...) one day, [as he was] crossing a valley, saw a
white skull lying on the face of the earth and reflected on it.

1 Morales Oliver (1972:231).

2 Clifford ed. (1980:1) MS.D, fol.83r, Padres Esculapios, Saragossa.

3 C.ed.: A literal translation of the Arabic phrase:
^Calā waḡ-hi l 'arḡi.

4 C: There is probably a word missing here.

5 HJB: sic.

"If God so wishes that it should speak to me..." Then God-May He be blessed and exalted! - sent ... and told it to speak ^{to him. And I must} ~~to you~~ - and with the power of God who brings life to bones after their decay. And Jesus took it and prayed, bending and prostrating himself twice, and going to the skull, said: "In the name of God, and by the faith of the prophet Muḥammad!" (Blessing...) - Let the Mercy of God rest upon him and all the prophets! - Saying these words, he kissed the skull that spoke clearly and said...

Feature Analysis

1. Word Order: flexible. Subjects are often understood:

^Caysā bidu una qalabera i penšu en el.
 S V O [I V (S) I O]
 i...tumu ^Caysā al-ḡuwezū
 I V S O

2. Derivation: An attempt is made to retrieve Arabic derivation:

rrakuntadu pur lus rrakuntadures
 fablaše, fablale, fablartē, fabla

There is purpose in this repetition.

3. Case ending morphs are present in the religious formulae:

^Calay-hi salam.

4. As in doc.16 one notices the reduplication of the article:

el alamīn. Here el alḥadīs; luš anabiyeš.

Awareness of the Arabic word boundaries is disappearing with the resulting hybridization in the plural:

luš a-nabiy-eš
 R. A. A. R.
 duš al-rak^Caš. Note the loss of assimilation in the article.
 R. ? A. R.

5. Particles

la'ura: "then". The repetitive use of this particle at the beginning of clauses recalls the environment of Arabic tumma "then".

enta: is seen as the result of two phonetically similar forms: ante (Latin) and ^Cinda (Arabic), evolving through change into homonyms. As they appear in similar contexts, the homonyms

fuse into one form by false analogy. Hence a given form acquires new connotations and expands its domain after fusion. Here enta is used with a verb of movement, differing thus from Cinda. (1)

šubre: šubre la kereyensa is odd in Romance usage. It is probably a literal translation of Arabic Calā.

7. Coordination is not systematic, but the i...i.. pattern is frequent.

8. Subordination: V ke : Kišiyēše ke

13. Relativization:

la kalabera ke-nkuntru
 N [N V]
 akel ke rrebirka
 N [N V]

ke is the common form for animate and inanimate :: que, quien (Castilian).

19. Borrowing takes place at different levels:

i) Arabic slot-fillers to Romance underlying structure:
 al-ḥadīs, lanabī muḥammad.

ii) Hybridization: i fizu ašala duš al-rak^C aš
 R. R. A. R. ? A. R.
ašala could be derived either from V or N components.

iii) Arabic underlying structure, Romance slot-fillers:
 šubre la kara de la tiyarra.

iv) Arabic underlying structure, Arabic slot-fillers:
 Caysā^C alay-hi salam.

Regional features

. initial /f/: fiḡu, fablu, dešfeituš.

. /ei/ diphthong retained before /t/: dešfeituš.

. Evidence that the fricative consonantal shift is taking place:
 ḡuwešuš ḡuwežū; dišu diziyendu
 with a voiceless-voiced alternation within the same form.
 Note also aserkuše, fizu, the same phoneme has two
 phonetic realizations.

. Aragonese lexical items: enta, la^uura.

1 hasta is the result of a similar development in Romance.
 See also Kontzi (1974), (1978).

Aljamía

. Archaic usage with respect to Castilian:
en diziyendu eštaš palabraš

. Unpredictable vowel alternation:

tiyarra:tierra

alpuder : el poder

kereyensa : creencia

. Absence of homorganic labialization: nunbre.

. p/b alternation: biyadab :: piedad.

. Consonant cluster reduction:

depuweš

paladīna:pur-al-adina. Although lenḡwa paladina "speaking with a tongue beyond doubt" is equally probable, as a calque.

. Neologism: rebirka from revivicar (1).

Other divergent patterns from Castilian:

. ke me fablaše a-mi

Redundant tonic personal pronoun form (2):

. biḡ una qalabera ... i penḡ en-el.

Absence of concord

The greater degree of divergency observed in this text may be interpreted, within the framework of this study, as the result of an attempt to create a style of writing, an art form emerging in a distinctive culture and the appearance of a new variety of Romance to separate "them and us" and reinforce Moslem identity.

By way of contrast, the next quotation is literary in content; its prime purpose is to delight rather than instruct. The scene is the duel of two champions. While such battles were the mainstay of epic poetry, the atmosphere of the passage is enhanced by a touch of mystery (Ali has not disclosed his identity) and the presence of the fair maid, Almayesa.

1 Clifford (1980:52).

2 Galmés de Fuentes (1965:533-4).

(H) El recontamiento de Almicded y Almayesa, Aragon, Cl6.(1)

La hora arremetió Almicded contra Alí y Alí contra Almicded y corrieron entre-llos largos y muchos, daquí á que ya le pareció á Alí que duraba mucho. La hora, firió ad Almicded una ferida con el blanco de su espada que sintió della Almicded muy gran dolor, y bolbió las cuestas fuyendo, no pudiendo conportar la fortaleza y barraganía de Alí Ibno¹⁾ Alí Talib (que Alá esté satisfecho de él) daquí á que llegó ad Almayesa, Y dixo ella: Vencido eres, ye Almicded. Dixo Almicded: Sábeta, ye Almayesa, que aquella dolor en mi corazón es como brasas de fuego, que ya me ha benido con él lo que no cuidaba. Yo creo que en los jalecados todos no hay otro tal como éste; y mi presona, ye Almayesa, tiene miedo de su encuentro... Dixo ella Almayesa: ¿a dó es tu barraganía y tu caballería?... ye Almicded, si no me bienes con aquel caballero catibo ó con su cabeça cortada, no te allegarás á mí en jamás.

Translation

Then Almicded (Ad.) rushed towards Ali and Ali against Ad. and they charged again and again. Even Ali thought it went on quite long. Then he struck such a blow with the flat of his sword that Ad. felt a mighty pain and fled down the hills, for he could not withstand Ali Ibn Abi Talib (May God be pleased with him!)'s daring and strength. Ad. went to Almayesa. And she said to him: You have lost, O Almicded! Ad. said: Know, O Almayesa! that the pain in my heart is like red hot coals, it came to me while I was with him and this I did not expect. In all creation, I think, there is none like him. She said: Where is your daring and your pride? O Almicded, if you do not return with that knight as a prisoner or with his severed head, you shall never approach me again.

Feature Analysis

1. Word order: probably V S O; subjects are at times understood:

le pareció á Alí que

 V S I

firió ad Almicded

V (S) O

2. Derivation: firió una ferida.

The generation of a noun derived from the same root as the verb is typically Arabic construction. The string is ungrammatical in Romance as ferir is generated with two objects (O).

1 Mariano de Pano ed. (1904:49) "confusion between b and p is constant... Initial /f/ words written indifferently with fa' or hā."

2 sic.

5. Particles

della: que sintió Ad. della Ad. muy gran dolor.

de+ella are redundant within Romance, probably a calque of fi-hi.

en: en los jalecados todos.

Comparisons are useful context for the study of languages in a contact situation. The underlying structure is clearly of one or the other model (1), in part on account of restrictions on word order. The underlying structure here is definitely Arabic:

en: min ≠ Castilian: de.

jalecados: Arabic loan.

todos: Arabic word order, in Romance todos precedes the noun.

en: en jamás is odd in standard Romance.

6. V deletion: como éste (es)

Romance and Arabic converge in this pattern.

7. Coordination. The coordination in the text conforms to Romance.

8. Subordination. V que:

yo creo que no hay
[S V [I I V ...]]

16. Negation

no cuidaba
no te allegarás á mí en jamás

no: umbrella form :: Cast. Jamás te me acercarás.

19. Borrowing

There is no overt Arabic borrowing except for the proper names.

However there is indirect borrowing in the form of calques as seen above: ye Almayesa.

Regional features

. pre for per in presona (metathesis).

. Auxiliaries in a state of fluctuation: dó es, tu barraganía (estan); eres vencido (estas).

. Aragonese lexical items: la hora (entonces); daquí á (hasta); ad (a); conportar, allegarse.

Aljamía

. Archaic items:

initial /f/: fuyendu; dó : donde : catibo : cautivo.

. Absence of homorganic labialization: conportar.

. p/b alternation: blano::plano

. Neologism: jalecados from H-L-Q "create" Ar.

Other divergent patterns from Castilian:

. ¿a dó es tu barraganía y tu caballería ?

Preceding verb in singular followed by two subjects: Arabic

. aquella dolor

dolor masc. has become fem.

. corrieron entre ellos largos y muchos

largos y muchos as adjectives require the presence of a noun.

In Arabic the adjective and the noun belong to the same category (substantive) and the above requirement is not imperative.

Leaving the linguistic plane for a moment, we see "barra ganía and caballería" as a successful attempt in recreating internal rhyme that played such an important role in Arabic prose, and "caballero catibo" e/o i/o: "cabeça cortada" e/a A/a as assonant rhymes in harmony with the perfect pair above.

Returning to our dated documents, the last example is a series of notes found in the Coran abreviado. (1)

(I) Coran abreviado, 1564-1583.

1. memurya a-mi miq-el de zeyn de-kumu merke un-maḡu de ḡranada kustandu eškire uḡu de mayulanrude mil i kinye-ntuṣ i-šetenta i-kuwatru. Fol.1r (2).

2. para la-kiriyatura ke muču pulura yeš-kiribe-le eštā adu^ca... Fol.178r.

1 MS. No.5228, BNM.

2 See notes 7.4.1.

3. memurya de lu-ke duy a-mi-hiġa la-mayur enbezeš tiyene
šeyš reales maš-le-di ešandu su-maridu malu ... maš-le
di una ġallina...maš-le-di una fanġa de tiriġu. Fol.1r-v.

4. nasiyu mi-fiċu muḥammad de zeyna a-duze de šetiyenbre
anou de mil i-kinjentuš i-šešenta i-kuwatri al-kandariyu
de luš kirištyanuš ereġeš. Fol.178v.
ibrāhim ... a-beyte i-duš e ebreru (15-) šetenta i-yunu. Fol.24r.
Calī de panša ... a dišdi-y-uċu de nubiyeberu (15-) i
uċenta. Fol. 24r.
mi-fiġu ... ċisā ... a-kinze de dēzyenbere. Fol.177v.
Calī ... a-dizšiyete de febreru diya de luneš. Fol.179r.

5. al ḥamdu llāh tubimuš baškū de ramadan al-saġeru de
uytuberū. Fol.24r. (1)
=Arabic

Translation

1. Record to myself, Miguel de Zeyne, in writing of how I bought a ram from Granada. 8th May 1574.
2. For the baby that cries a lot, write this prayer.
3. Record of what I give to my eldest daughter at different times, 6 pieces [of silver] plus what I gave her when her husband was ill plus a hen plus a measure of wheat.
4. My son Muhammad de zeyne was born 12th September 1564 according to the calendar of the Christian heretics.
Ibrahim ... 22nd February 1571.
Calī de Pansa ... 18th November 1580.
My son Calī ... 15th December.
Calī ... 17th February, a Monday.
5. Thanks be to God! We had the feast of Ramadan at the end of October.

Feature Analysis

1. Word order: flexible. When the subject appears in the surface structure, it often comes after the verb:

nasiyu mi fiċu
[V N]

7. No coordination between clauses in this text.
8. No subordination either.
13. Relativization:

la kiriyatura ke muċu pulura
N [N V ...]

1. Unvowelled. date (989-990AH / 1582-1583AD).

memurya de lu-ke duy a mi hīḡa

N I N [N V I N ...]

The strings conform to Romance usage.

19. Arabic loans: proper names and technical terms:
adū^ca, ramadan.

Regional features

Initial (f) /h/ ----> Ø hīḡa, ereḡeš

Hypercorrection: ebreru, febreru

sīn appears as /s/ before /i/ nasiyu (cf. Mora de U.).

Dental affricates are in a state of fluctuation:

duze, disḡi-y-uču, dḡzyenbere, dizšiyete

uḡu uču, maḡu muču

Aljamía

. Archaic features: fiču, uytuberū, yet ḡ and ū are recent developments; the clash of the two stages is possibly a characteristic of these socio-religious varieties (Aljamía, Judezmo, Yiddish).

. Absence of homorganic labialization: setiyenbre.

. Consonant cluster reduction:

kustandu eškire, (Constando escribi-le?) unvowelled tentative reading.

kandariyu (calendario)

beyte (veinte)

. Neologism: baškū ≠ pascua

The final ū, also uytuberū is common in Abenaboo's letter.(1)

. Calque

mil i-... for Ar. alf wa ..≠ Romance.

From the study of this corpus of texts, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Aljamía was spoken in home and public life.

2. It was written. The texts show that different styles emerged reflecting to some extent a similar development in the oral varieties (witnesses' accounts), forming a creole-like continuum. When used for business purposes, it could be almost undistinguishable from standard Romance; however this

1 See 7.4.1.

was not usual. It is in the literary prose and more particularly in religious texts that it diverges the most from Romance standard, to the point of unintelligibility.

3. As a Romance dialect, it shows some regional variation, sharing a few features and some lexical items with the regional varieties of the majority of speakers, in a given political state.

4. Compared to the regional standard, Aljamía is more conservative.

5. Aljamía is the result of a contact situation, in which the new variety illustrates different degrees of borrowing and a convergence between the structures of Arabic and in this case, Romance.

6. As such, reduction of consonant clusters and absence of homorganic labialization are characteristic of Aljamía.

7. Aljamía evolves new lexical items.

By way of conclusion, let us point out what has not yet been fully explained:

Why is it that so few Aljamiado texts come from central Spain, where it is assumed that the Moriscos had lost the use of Arabic (perhaps not as completely as once thought; cf. fatwa on skins 7.2)? Whereas the lion's share comes from Aragon, where there is substantial evidence for the existence of faqīhs, even schools, until the 1500s, granted the later Inquisition statements say that Aragonese Moslems did go to Valencia for instruction. As for Valencia, which represents the other extreme from Castile, there are also very few Aljamiado texts.

Aljamía went over to North Africa with the waves of escaping and ultimately expelled families of Moriscos. It served for a ^{short} while as a medium for instructing the newcomers. However, what is more surprising is that Aljamía was replaced by Castilian or Spanish (1). The Spanish Moslems came from many parts of the Peninsula; from this quotation it seems that Castilian was the common standard they all shared. Aljamía does have regional variations; it could be that accent and intonation may have rendered these varieties even more divergent one from another than may be gathered from the corpus. The author of MS9653BNM says in his introduction:

"They can not attain Arabic, the perfect language, but have to use that common speech, Castilian, which God had them know and in which they were raised, without being able to learn the other. This is why this work had to be written in this manner for them..." Fol.1r(2)

If Spanish, then, was seen for a time as legitimate in translations, this also accounts to some extent for there being so few texts besides religious and polemic material. The use of Spanish was not condoned for any other literary production.

A further reason as to why Spanish survived longer than Aljamía is that the deported Moslems found to their dismay that they had left behind them a more technically advanced culture; and while they were made welcome in Tunis, elsewhere they were

- 1 Of the works mentioned in Memorial Histórico Español (1853:V:7), there is a: Zunna and Xara, written in Tunis (c.1650) by a Moor from Valencia and cross-checked at the request of Citi Bulgaiz who insisted it should be done in Castilian (not Ağamī) as "the majority of the expelled not only had completely forgotten their Arabic but did not even know the letters in which the glorious Koran had been revealed".
- 2 in Cardaillac (1977).

all too frequently robbed and murdered. Little wonder that a certain number of them wanted to return to Spain (1) and did (2). In these circumstances, it is understandable that even among those who were able to adapt and start a new life, Spanish represented their past, the heritage of their community and the language of a flourishing civilization. In a way, after the bitterness had left, they and their descendants became pro-Spanish. Castilian took up the role Aljamía had played in Christian Spain.

Another fact which becomes abundantly clear after the deportation is that while the Moriscos wrote in Aljamía in Spain, some could write perfect Castilian. Muley Nuñez was not a unique case, there is some evidence of their ability in the Inquisition's papers (3), yet it is from the works written in Tunis that one can appreciate the scope and the extent of their skill at poetry and polemic disquisitions in Spanish (4).

In time Spanish went the way Aljamía had gone, the newcomers had no contacts with the Peninsula and when they finally became part of North African society, Spanish ceased to be used.

- 1 From a 1491 fatwa: "the point is that this crowd of Andalusians that have come from Spain...now deeply regret having fled from Spain to come to the House of Islam that is this Maghrib, for not finding anywhere to settle ... Ibn Yaḥyā al-Wansharīshī. MS1758 Escorialensis in Gaspar Remiro (1911:I:222-3). See Chapter 4.
- 2 Rodríguez Joulia Saint Cyr (1970) Bibliografía menor hispano-musulmana.
- 3 e.g. Inq. (Toledo) legajo No.196/4. Archivo Histórico Nacional, and others in Cardaillac (1977).
- 4 Cf. Oliver Asín, Epalza and Petit.

This is not exactly the view of
Latham as given by Sophia.
(Latham as shown in the picture of
Latham and I).

8.5 Judeo-Spanish

If Aljamía, as it was spoken in Spain, was a phenomenon caused by specific social factors, then if the factors are repeated elsewhere, one should find a similar development, and this is what we predict for the varieties in use within the Jewish communities in Spain. They were ostracized by the Christian majority and lived, therefore, isolated in the juderías (ghettos). Hebrew was used in certain circumstances, but Romance was spoken at home. Hence it is likely that this Romance should diverge from the dialect of the majority of speakers in a given political state. The study of the Jewish varieties is compounded by the fact that its speakers started leaving the Peninsula after the massacres of the 1390s and were expelled in 1492. Taking into account that the literary peak of Aljamía - if it is a parallel phenomenon - was in C16, the time span for investigating the linguistic habits of the Jewish communities is much reduced and the sources preceding their departure all the more scant.

The studies that have been undertaken from a descriptive point of view show that there were at least two varieties: one formal Ladino and the other less so: Judezmo. These styles, in common with Aljamía, borrow to a substantial degree from a Semitic language. A comparison is beyond the scope of our study, but it would not be without interest. It would provide external validation and perspective to studies in depth of Judeo-Spanish and Aljamía. The most cogent article met on this point is that of Marcus (1) and the data he presents confirm the

1 Marcus (1962) "A-t-il existé en Espagne un dialecte Judéo-espagnol?"

existence of these divergent Jewish Romance varieties:

- . They were more conservative than Standard.
- . They accepted Hebrew calques.
- . And they borrowed lexical items directly from Arabic.

More directly relevant to our study is Judeo-Spanish in North Africa, as a further Spanish variety in contact with Arabic. Significant is the fact that in the Alvar corpus of traditional mourning songs, the borrowing of Arabic lexical items is comparable to the Hebrew loans (1). Here again, we chose to restrict our field for reasons of coherence and because useful sources are not very accessible.

1 Alvar (1969:104).

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

To return to the title of the study, one may ask: How Spanish or Romance were the Arabic dialects of the Peninsula? and How Arabic were the Spanish Romance dialects? The answer to the first question is what we have tried to discover in Chapter 7. What emerges is that a general answer cannot be given, it depends on the individual text, on its period and where it is situated within the linguistic continuum, that is how formal or colloquial it is and if this text is late medieval, then on its geographical origin.

Previous to Cl1, there is no available literature to allow for the study of regional varieties, we must assume the existence of a common standard (koiné). It is plausible although not altogether provable that the more colloquial the register/style the more likely it was to contain mixed form and to be affected by hybridization (cf. poetry in luḡat al-laḥn, 7.2). Yet this was only true up to the second Berber invasion in Cl2. With the Almohades, as we saw in Part I, the remaining Romance speakers were deported or massacred. Therefore Arabic dialects of Al-Andalus were less influenced by foreign elements and probably drew closer to North African varieties. From Ibn Saʿīd's remarks (1) we may infer that the linguistic continuum reached its maximum range in Cl3, that is, Andalusians wrote good Arabic but spoke it most inaccurately. At this time too, one begins to notice regional differences as for instance in the use of particles: "of (possession" li, matā Granadan Arabic; li, dī in Toledo and min in Saragossa,

1 See 5.1.

or in the occurrence of relative markers, with the preferred use of mā V in formal Granadan compared to the retention of the complete system of relative markers in Valencian.

One must also remember that Cl3 marks the onset of "isolation". The Mudejares could no longer maintain easy contacts with the Andalusians, the Valencians with the Moslem communities inland, and so on. These political circumstances reinforce regional divergence. The linguistic continuum after reaching its greatest scope contracts. The formal register overlaps with the middle ranges. Thus up to now inappropriate patterns appear in formal contexts, e.g. wa V (imp.) and V li V "in order to" in the Valencian documents (Cl5). The latter pattern is not found elsewhere; it is a Valencian innovation and consequently Valencian Arabic diverges - just as any other variety would with a similar innovation (I) - from the common "bundle" of Spanish Arabic dialects. Dialectal variety may also result from (II) a different rate of change in sister varieties. One can follow a particular aspect, say the system of relative markers and context. The first stage of restructuring may be found with the loss of the branch node N antecedent crucial to the concept of relativization seen as a nominal expansion. This happens in Toledo 1216. The next stage is the collocation of a preposition preceding the relative marker (Urzante 1312). The stage is met in Granadan and Valencian in late Cl5. From then on, the marker appears more and more often in environments common to invariants which suggest re-lexicalization. We cannot be sure that our texts reflect accurately the change as it happened - we offer this sequence for the time being - but we do know that it did happen and that

the formal result was a change of status as we have just described. On the other hand (III) what differentiates Saragossan Arabic is the absence of Maghribi features, the relative frequency of occurrence of given particles IN \neq IV (IV) as we have said, are specific to regional varieties. One suggests that this could be further researched and borrowing (V) is yet another factor in dialectal divergency. Here again, a pattern like the converging adjective fronting (Castile 1402) distinguishes it from other contemporary varieties.

To be more specific, change and borrowing may be observed in table form.

CHANGE

← L I N G U I S T I C C O N T I N U U M →

COLLOQUIAL

MIDDLE RANGE

FORMAL

Time

Late C11

Particles expand
domain (Al A)

C12

Particles expansion
relative māV preferred
Toledo

Dialectal features
more flexible
word order (Al-A)

C13

Particles exp.
Saragossa

Flexible word order
loss of fa Toledo.

C14

Na V (imperf.)
Navarre
Part.expansion
min + relative

Late C15

Flexible word order
loss of fa
bi + relative
kin (relex)
Granada

Flexible word order
V li V
pers.pron.subject
bi + relative
Highest level of
Subordination
Valencia

word boundaries
fuzzy
Ni-N (my N)
pers.pron.subj.
Huwet (huwa)
Granada

C16

New Particles
as: neg.
li: neutralized
between ilā, li-N
Valencia

New Particles
ašmakin
Morphemic boundaries
fuzzy
Granada

BORROWING

LINGUISTIC CONTINUUM

Time	FORMAL	MIDDLE RANGE	COLLOQUIAL	ʿAḡamī
Late Cl1	very few loans Saragossa	zaḡal (Al A) loans	karḡa (Al-A) loans with no Latin, hybridization case morphs	
Cl2				
Cl3	Toledo <u>ḡī</u>			de "of" possession convergence
Cl4		(1)	karḡa loans almost nil	
	Castile (1402) fronting of Adj.			fronted Adj.
Cl5	hybridization Aljamía Saragossa (2)	personal pronoun subject Valencia	personal pronouns subject Granada	personal pronouns subject
Cl6	Aljamía Saragossa very few loans in Abenaboo aḡī			asī: Invariant

(1) Navarre has not been taken into account. There are good reasons for not considering it to be representative of common speech.

(2) We have argued that this is due to special circumstances. The existence of Calavera's letter and its closeness to Classical Standard shows the true range of variation in Saragossa Arabic.

Regional differentiation is substantiated and this has been done from internal analysis and by comparison with sister dialects.

As for the answer to the second question: How Arabic were Spanish Romance dialects? - it will be found in Chapter 8. Beyond the lexical borrowing which is undeniable, we find in Cl3 Toledo Romance - the variety showing the greatest convergence with Arabic - the definite article el reflecting Arabic usage for the co-responding article l-. The documents reveal equally the presence of calques, e.g. en Aldea Darganz la conomrada de las aldeas de Toledo, of which the salutation type: ¡Dios le honre! remains in Spanish and becomes productive. A few other patterns follow suit, e.g. no V sino as Huffman proved (1). Any other Arabic influence on the syntax rests with a small collection of random items such as verbal pairs V, aV consejar, aconsejar. One reaches the conclusion that the impact of Arabic on the underlying structure of Romance varieties was less in degree than was the case with Arabic and ^CAğamī interference. Let it be said, however, that the grounds for saying so are not as well founded as with the case of Arabic. The Romance corpus is far less varied in register/style and one must take into account the political situation. By Cl3, the Christians were in the dominant position and Arabic speakers were on sufferance. Our answer is by no means definitive.

Aljamía is a different case altogether and if it must be included in the Romance language family it is on the basis of mutual intelligibility. It is a counter-cultural manifestation

1 Huffman (1977). Discussion corroborated by comparison and frequency counts. For greater detail see Ph.D Thesis 1975.

that endeavoured to become Arabic in absentia, as it were, and failed on account of this. What it did achieve was an independent status; had it been allowed to exist, it would have become a new language, diverging at a tangent from mainstream Romance dialects.

Some criticism will be levelled at the framework we have used. We admit it is only as good as the features it retains. By and large, it has been useful to quantify syntactic change and convergence. It may be improved in a number of ways and this is what we propose for comparative studies of sister varieties.

(a) A further search for more effective features replacing some, i.e. f6 (V deletion) - it has not produced pertinent results - a reassortment of subordination features by testing these with others not included and an expansion of the feature grid to include dialectal features (common features, i.e. Maghribi features) and further borrowing criteria.

(b) Some more effective symbolization to represent more or less x quantity.

(c) Since Particles and Invariants are regional bound, frequency counts would be of interest to discriminate between a normal use, common to most varieties, and a favoured use found in a variety. This should include the study of certain verbs and their following invariants, e.g.

'amara Ø "to order"
'amara li Dialect I
'amara x Dialect II

'iltazama Ø "to be incumbent upon"
'iltazama fi Dialect I
'iltazama li Dialect II

Pidgin and creole studies have evolved the most sophisticated framework for measuring variation. We have concentrated

on the analysis of simplification and borrowing as the more relevant to our syntactic approach. The grid of features and "spectrum" results have enabled us to follow the stages of change in a non-prestige variety in isolation, i.e. Mudejar Arabic. Simplification coincides with a gradual loss of features of which in all varieties there is an order of exit:

- 1) case morphs $\rightarrow \emptyset$
- 2) fa precedes wa
- 3) llatī precedes llaḡī
- 4) lam precedes lā

This implies the following trend, that simplification takes place by

- i) system reduction (negation, subordination, relativization, etc.)
- ii) The emergence of an umbrella form.
- iii) Past a certain degree of the above restructuring, new forms must emerge to satisfy semantic needs, i.e. particles expand their domain to compensate for the loss of case. If this does not happen then, the said variety becomes akin to Pidgin until it ceases to exist.

We would recommend further investigation in Judeo-Spanish and other counter-cultural varieties to validate or refute our results so far. More could be achieved for Spanish Arabic, by a study of all the ranges of the linguistic continuum from Cl1 to Cl3 as offered with poetry from the muwaššaha to the most colloquial karḡa.

We hope that the unavoidable misinterpretations and weaknesses of the present study will lead to further refutation and subsequent clarification of the theory and to a better understanding of the contact situation.

ARABIC LEGAL DOCUMENTS

From the collection found in the archives of Nuestra Señora del Pilar. These were edited by García de Linares, published without translation in "Escrituras Arabes del Pilar" in Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera, ed. E. Saavedra (1904).

The interest of these Aragonese documents lies in the fact that they are dated and originals. One is glossed in Vulgar Latin. They cover a period spanning from 1117 to 1501.

Transcription will follow previous conventions, inflexions, and hamza will appear only where it can be predicted, i.e. religious invocations or vowel diacritics in Ms.

Docs. 1-12-13 are considered in 7.3.3.1 and Docs. 15-16 in 7.4.3. The rest are to be found in this appendix (García de Linares's listing).

Doc. 2 Bill of Sale for a house within Saragossa. No date. (1)

*bismi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm tubita 'indī 'istarā mas'ūd
bnu muḥammad l-kalā'ī min 'abī ḡa'far aḥmad bnu ḡa'far bnu
nūḥ l-ḡāfiqī ḡamī' d-dār l-muḡaṣṣat 'alā dārayn fī ḥawmatī
masḡid 'abī. kālīd fī d-darb l-mansūb 'ilā 'abī kālīd bi-ribad
ṣinhāḡat ḡarbī madīnat saraqustat ḥadda-hā fī l-qiblat dār
nūḥ l-'aṭṭār wa dār ibn 'aṣām wa fī l-ḡawf dār sālīḥ
t-tāḡir wa fī š-šarq z-zaqaqī allaḡī 'ilay-h bāb-hā wa fī
l-ḡarb dār ṣ-ṣayqil l-'uṣqī wa dār ibn qurāyš l-'uṣqī t-tāḡir
bi manāfi' -hā wa marāfiq-hā wa ḥuram-hā wa ḥuqūq-hā kull-hā
d-dāḡilat fī-hā wa l-kāriḡat 'an-hā 'istarā' ṣahīhan ḡāyzan*

1 The currency mentioned is gold currency from Valencia, first struck in 496 AH / 1102 AD, probably in circulation within Saragossa until 1152. Codera (1899:III:273).

Doc. 2

من يوحنا المعمدان
الذي كان ينادي بالانجيل
في الصحراء
وكان يلبس ثياباً من
سراويل وبرية
وكان يلبس ثياباً من
سراويل وبرية
وكان يلبس ثياباً من
سراويل وبرية

mabtūlan bilā šart wa lā tunyā wa lā kiyār ʿarīfan qadra-h
 wa-mablaḡ-h bi-taman ʿiddat-h tisʿat wa arbaʿūn miṭqālān
 dahāban balan-siyyatan min s-sikkat...

_____ = formulae v = vowel diacritic in Ms.

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 Masʿūd ... el Calaf bought from Abu-djafar el-Ġafiqī the
 whole house mentioned . . . in the neighbourhood of the mosque
 of Abu Khalid in the alley named after Abu Khalid in the
 Sinḥādja (Zenaga) district to the west of the city of Sara-
 gossa; its borders (are) to the south the house of Nuḥ the
 scentmaker and that of Ibn ʿAṣam; to the north that of Salīḥ,
 the merchant; to the east, a street with a door giving on to
 it and to the west the house of the metal polisher from Huesca
 and that Ibn Quraysh the trader from Huesca - with the assets
 and utilities, sole ownership, all rights, entrances and
 exits from it; the purchase being valid, complete, free from
 any (restricting) clause and no possibility of going back on
 the deal or returning the property. They are informed as to
 the price and its specific amount of 49 miscales of gold
 from the Valencian mint...

Comments

Because of the "Capitulations", deeds referring to town prop-
 erty are few, except in the Toledo collection (González
 Palencia ed.).

Paleography: there are a few dotted consonants, usually
 ṭ or ṣ; -ḥā, and wa receive the vowel diacritics.

New formulae compared to Doc. 1 (1117 AD):

ṭubita ʿindī: "recorded by me"
 l-muqaṣṣat, l-mansūb: deictics, that is qualifying adjectives
 of the type: above-mentioned, previously
 described, etc.

ḥadda-h: "limited by"

mabtūlan: "closed" deal

bi-lā šart wa lā tunyā wa lā kiyār: no saving clause allowed

bi-taman ʿiddat-h: "the price is in the amount of"

Recording new legal formulae may help to place undated docu-
 ments and establish developments in Islamic law as practised
 in Spain.

Doc.3 Dated 526 AH/1132 AD. Money transaction, fragment.

bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi

'ašhada 'asnār 'asnāris l-maḍkūr fī baṭn hādā l-kitāb...(1)

'alā nafs-h šahādū (2) hādā l-kitāb 'inna-h qabaḍa min

waratāt sulayman bnu kalaf t-tuṭaylī d-dāmin 'iddat l-'adad

l-maḍkūr fī-h wa-mablag tis' wa kamsīn miṭqālan wa niṣfmiṭqāl

min d-daḥab l-mawṣūfat fī-h wa niṣf šaqqat ḡildī wa 'istaw-fā

ḡam' l-'adad l-mawṣūf min l-waratāt wa qabaḍ ḡamī' dālika wa

šāra 'idd=h mawzūnan muqallaban wa 'abrā' ḡamī' waratāt

sulayman bnu kalaf l-maḍkūr min ḡamī' l-'adad l-maqbūd wa

l-ḡildī l-maḍkūr maḥṣūl ḡamī' dālika 'idd=h 'abrā' ṣaḥīhan

tāmman fabariyū fa-lam yab-qa la-h qabla waratāt sulayman bnu

kalaf l-maḍkūr min ḡamī' hādā l-'adad l-mawṣūf qalīlan wa lā

kaṭīran wa lā da'wā lā huḡḡat wa lā ṭalb bi-waḡih min

l-wuḡūh wa lā bi-sabab min l-'asbāb min hādā l-'adad kāsṣat

wa 'ašhad 'alā nafs-h bi-mā dukira 'an-h fawq hādā fī hādā

l-kitāb fī ṣiḥḥat wa ḡawāz. 'amr-h man 'arifa-h wa sami'a

min-h li-kams kalūn li-šahr ša'bān l-mukarram sanat sitt wa

'ašrūn wa kams māyati fī-h l-ḥaqq sulayman wa ṣaḥḥ 'intahā

Comments

Paleography: the occasional dot appears above or below consonants; a few vowel diacritics here and there, almost consistently on wa and often on lā. The document is a fragment.

Dialectal usage: ḡild = skin;

Loan: Aznar - Aznariz

Date: Mahomedan calendar.

1 tear.

2 HJB: sic in Ms. |

[illegible]

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ثَبِتْ عَفْوَی

Doc. 4

Original very faint.

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 The previously mentioned Aznar Aznaris declared within this document against himself (1) - as proved by this statement - that he received from the heirs of Sulayman Ibn Khalaf from Tudela, the guarantor, the previously mentioned sum in the amount of 59 mizcals, half in gold as described and half in hides and the whole quantity described was received from the said heirs; he received all of it, counted, balanced and handed over. The heirs of Sulayman Ibn Kalaf were free from any obligation regarding the money paid and the hides obtained, definitely and completely. Thus he retained no right over the heirs of Sulayman Ibn Khalaf concerning the above described sum, to a greater or lesser degree, no claim, no reason, no cause for court action in the matter whatsoever, on any ground whatever, concerning this sum only. Those who declared against him (1) from what was said of him above in the document on his order are those who knew and heard it (statement) from him on 5th day of Shaban year 526.

New legal formulae

These have multiplied, with almost synonymous shades of meanings.

'ašhada ^Calā nafs-h: (the following) "declared against himself"
 Similarly witnesses can declare against.
 Standard procedure in Islamic law.

fī baṭn ḥādā l-kitāb: point of reference, ~~matter under discussion~~.
 ḡāmin: "guarantor"

^Ciddat l^Cadad: quantity in the amount of,
 stylistic device.

l-mawṣūfat, mawzūnan, l-maqbūd, maḥṣūl: deictics.

'istawfā, muqallaban: "money received, handed over".

'abrā' fabariya: "to remove an obligation and therefore to
 become free"

ṣaḥīḥan tāmman: "definitely and completely"

lām yabqā qalīlan wa lā kaṭīran, lā ḥuḡḡat, lā ṭalb bi
 waḡih wa lā bi sababi ... kāṣṣat: no grounds for appeal.
 ṣaḥḥ 'intahā: "valid until the end"

Doc. 4 Dated 535 AH/1141 AD Sale of a house in a village in Saragossa currency.

bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmān r-raḥīm ṭubita 'indī
 'aštarat dūnnat lubat min 'aīra bint bnu l-ḡazār wa
 min salmat wa yūsuf abnī muḥammad ḡayan ḡamī' d-dār l-mušā'
 allaḏī la-humā bi-qar-yat b-l-ḡ-n-s-h (1) ḡarb l-ḡsn (2)
 allaḏī ḡadda-hā fī l-qiblat bayt li-l-mubtā'at l-maḏkūrat
 wa fī l-ḡawf dār 'ayḡan li-l-mubtā'at l-maḏkūrat fī š-šarḡ
 sāḡiy-at wa bayna-humā maḡaḡḡat wa 'ilay-h šara'a bāb-hā wa
 fī l-ḡarb ḡannān li-dūnnat mariyah ḡūmis bi-ḡamī' manāfi'-hā
 wa marāfiḡ-hā wa maḏkal-hā wa maḡraḡ-hā wa bi-kull ḡaḡḡ huwa
 la-hum ma'rūf wa 'ilā l-mubtā'at mansūb lam yastabḡ l-bāyi'ūn
 l-maḏkūrūn min ḡālika ḡaḡḡan wa lā milkan wa lā murtafiḡan
 ḡalīlan wa lā kaṭīran illa karaḡū 'an-hā bi-l-bay' l-batil
s-šahḡ lam yataḡḡil bi-h šarṭ mufsid wa lā ṭunyā wa lā ḡiyār
 wa bi-ṭaman 'iddat-h itṭay 'ašrat dīnar ḡanāšar min s-sikkat
 l-ḡāriy-at 'al-'āna ḡīna tārīk ḡadā l-kitāb naḡuḡa l-mubtā'at
 l-maḏkūrat 'ilā l-bāyi'ūn l-maḏkūrūn ḡamī' t-ṭaman ḡiyādan
 muḡallaban fa-ḡabaḡa-h min-hā kaḡālika wa 'abrā'-hā fa-bariyā
 wa halla 'ilay-hā ḡamī' l-mabī' l-maḏkūr wa naḡala fī-hā
manzilat-hum wa muḡall ^{wa-muḡall} =hum dī l-mulḡ fī mulḡ-hā bi-l-'ibtīyā'
 l-maḏkūr lam yaḡḡalan wa (3) wa lā šayan bala 'ahāṭū bi-ḡālika
 ma'rifat wa 'ilman wa 'alā sunnat l-muslimīn fī ṭiyābat
 buyū'-hum wa marḡa' d-daraka fī-mā bayna-hum wa ḡamina 'abḡ
 allāh bnu mūsā (4) ḡamī' d-darak fī-mā 'adraka min darak
 li- - mubtā'at maḏkūrat 'alā sīrat l-balad šahad 'alā

1 GdeL: Placencia; HJB: Plasencia de Jalón? Almazán?

2 HJB: ḡiḡn ? "fort"

3 GdeL: sic.

4 ^{wa-muḡall}

'iṣḥādi l-bāyi'ūn l-maḍkūrūn wa-dāmin l-maḍkūr wa l-mubtā'at
 l-maḍkūrat 'alā anfus-h=m bi-mā dukira 'an-hum fī hādā
 l-kitāb man 'arifa-hum wa sami'a min-hum wa-hum bi-ḥāl
ṣ-ṣiḥhat wa ḡawāz l-'amr wa dālika muntaṣif ṣahar ḡumādā
 l-'akir 'ām kams wa talaṭīn wa kams māyat

_____ : formulae

_____ : Romance loans

Comments

Paleography: The original is now very faint, it was therefore not possible to compare the Ms. to G. de L. edited version nor elicit vowel diacritics (same scribe as Doc.5).

Historical value: The buyer is a Christian lady and the sellers are Moslem. It is noteworthy to see that Islamic law (sunnat) and custom (sīrat) were chosen as the contracting medium. The legal content and provisions increase with every document (the formulaic expressions are similar to 1133 Toledo, sale of a vineyard (1)). Islamic dating.

Spelling: dālika as ذالك and kaḍālika كذاك

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful as recorded by me, Doña Luba bought of Aīra, daughter of Ibn el Djazar and from Selma and Yusuf, sons of Mahomed Dayan, the whole of the said house, which is theirs, in the village of _____ west of the fort, the limits of which (are) to the south a house of the abovementioned lady buyer and the same to the north and to the east an irrigation ditch and between a road with a door giving on to it and to the west a garden that belongs to Doña Maria Gómez - with all the assets and utilities, entrances and exists and rights known to it. The abovementioned sellers reserve no right excepting possessions and facilities, to a greater or lesser degree but relinquish it with the sale that is definite and complete gaining no access to it through a clause invalidating the deal, there being no further bid no handing back of the sold property and for the price, in the amount of 12 dinars (censales?) from the mint in valid currency at the date of the deed.

1 Lerchundi, J. and Simonet, F.J. Crestomatía Arabigo-Española (1881), p.14, Granada.

The lady buyer fulfilled this, handing over the exact full amount to the sellers. So they received it from her thereby freeing her of any obligation. Thus she was free to become the owner and to occupy the property bought, as the owner in her possessions, through the purchase. There is nothing more to be known, nothing that they did not find out, thus knowing exactly and being aware of (the deal) by Islamic law making good their sale and with the onus on the seller returning the money if there be a flaw. Abd-allah Ibn Musa was guarantor to all the transaction in what was obtained by way of the rights of the lady buyer according to the custom of the land. Those who (witnessed) declared against the statement of the sellers, the guarantor and lady buyer in what was heard from them, in this deed, were those who knew them and heard about it from them, they being sound in body and mind, at their request, in the middle of the month of Djumada 2nd of year 535.

New legal expressions

'ilay-hi šara'a = giving on
maḳkal, maḳrağ = entrance and exit
mušāc ma'ruḫ = deictics
lā milkan, lā murtafiqan: characteristics pertaining to a
 given property
lam yastabq illā ḱarağa: reserving no right but relinquishing it
lam yataşşıl bi-h şarṭ mufsid: no access through invalidation
l-ğariy-at al'āna ḥīna tārīḱ: in valid currency
nafūda: conditions are met
ğiyādan muqallaban: money handed over in the exact amount
ḥalla = to be free from
nazala fī-hā manzilat-hum wa muḥall-hum dī l-mulk fī mulk-hā:
 to take up possession of property
lam yağhalan, aḥātū bi-dālīka, ma'rifat, c'ilman:
 to be informed
'ala sīrat l-balad = by the custom of the land
bi-ḥāl ş-şihhat wa ğawāz = in a state of mental and physical
 health

Doc. 5 dated 554 AH/1159 AD Sale of field between a
Christian buyer and Moslem sellers.

bismi llāhi r-raḥmān r-raḥīm
 'aštarā' š-šiniūr dūn ḡuliyem del-masan min salmat wa muḥammad
 wa maryam banī muḥammad bnu 'abd allāh bnu qabiš l-'anšārī
 ḡamī' l-faddān alladī h-hum fī qaryat barbuliṣ ḥadda-h fī
 l-qiblat faddān li-banī maymūn wa fī l-ḡawf ḥabs l-masaḡid wa
 huwa 'al- 'āna li-naṣrānī wa fī š-šarq faddān li-naṣrānī wa fī
 l-ḡarb faddān ayḡan li-banī maymūn bi-ḡamī' manāfi' l-faddān wa
 marāfiq-h wa madḡal-h wa makraḡ-h wa bi-kull ḥaqq huwa la-h
 ma'rūf wa 'ilay-h mansūb lam tastabq l-bāyi'ūn l-madḡūrūn min
 ḡamī' l-faddān ḥaqqan wa lā mulkan wa lā murtafiqan qalīlan
 wa lā kaṭīran illā karaḡū 'an-h li-dūn ḡuliyem l-mubtā' l-madḡūr
 bi l-bayi' l-batil š-ṣaḡīḡ alladī lam yataṣṣil bi-h šarṡ
 mufsid wa lā tunyā wa lā kiyār bi-taman 'iddat tis'at dinānīr
qanāšar faḡḡat min s-sikkat l-ḡāriy'at ḡina tārīk ḥaḡḡ l-kitāb
 nafuḡa l-mubtā' l-madḡūr ḡamī' t-taman 'ilā l-bāyi'ūn
 l-madḡūrūn ma'dūdat ḡiyādan muḡallabat fa-qabaḡū-h min-h
 kaḡālika 'alā š-sifat l-madḡūrat wa 'abru'ū-h min-hā fabariyā
fa-taḡallū 'ilay-h 'an ḡamī' l-faddān wa nazala fī-h manzilat
 l-bāyi'ūn l-madḡūrūn salmat wa muḥammad wa maryam wa maḡall=hā
 wa muḡall dī l-mulḡ fī mulḡ -h bi-l-'ibtiyā' lam yaḡḡalū-h
 wa lā ṣayan min-h bala aḡāṡā bi-dālika ma'rifat wa 'ilman
 wa 'alā sunnat muslimīn fī tiyābat buyū'-hum wa maraḡ
 d-darak bayna-hum šahad 'alā 'iṣḡād l-bāyi'ūn wa l-mubtā'
 'alā anḡus-h=m bi-mā ḡukira 'an-hum fī ḡaḡḡ l-kitāb man
 'arifa-hum wa samī' h min-hum wa huwa bi-ḡāl š-ṣiḡḡat wa ḡawāz
 l'amr wa ḡālika fī mustaḡall ḡumāḡā l-'awwal sanat 'arba' wa
kamsīn wa kams māyat 'intahā

 =loan

v= vowel diacritic in Ms.

Doc. 5

[illegible]

Comments

Paleography: dots are fairly widely used with very few vowel diacritics and shadda. Possibly the same scribe as previous Doc.4. Contents are very similar in formulae. Islamic dating and same currency as Doc.4. Loans: minimal.

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
 Lord Don Guillén de Almazán bought from Selma, Mahomed and Maryam, sons and daughter of Mohamed ... el Ansarí, the whole field which is theirs in the village of Barboles - its borders (are) to the south a field belonging to the sons of Maymon and to the north the inalienable property of the mosque and that is now the Christian's and to the east a field of his and to the west another field of the sons of Maymon - with all the profits, the utilities, the entrances and exits, all the known rights, deriving from it, the above mentioned sellers retaining no advantage on possessions or facilities whether small or big but relinquish it to the buyer Don Guillén; the sale being definite and valid; there being no clause invalidating it, no further bid no handing back, for the price in the amount of 9 dinars (censales) in silver from the mint in currency valid at the date of the document; this being done by the said buyer; the entire amount counted, handed over and thus received from him in this fashion as described. He is himself free thereby of any obligation and thus was free to become the owner and to occupy the said property bought from Salma, Mohamed and Maryam - as owner of the property, with the purchase; there being nothing more to be known and nothing he did not find out, knowing all about it, and being aware of it as by Islamic law, the sale was effected with the onus on the sellers if there be a flaw between them. Those who witnessed (declared against) the statement of sellers and buyer in what was paid by them in this document, knew them and heard it from them, while sane in mind and body and this was by their order at the onset of .djumadā1st, year 554 - end.

New legal expressions:

ma^cdūd, sifat = deictics

takallū = they gave up the property

Doc. 6 Dated 555 AH/1160 AD Sale of house in the village of Urrea.

bism-illāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm

‘aṣṭarā dūn guliyeṃ del-masān min muḥammad l-‘alūf
 ḡamī‘ d-dār alladī la-h bi-qaryat Ureyah min quran (1)
ṣalūn ḥadda-hā fī l-qiblat dār per l-qassīs wa fī l-ḡawf
 z-zuqāq wa dār ‘alī bnu farūḡ wa fī š-šarq l-maṭraq wa l-
 qanisiyat wa fī l-ḡarb dār muḥammad bnu ‘abū l-‘ās bi-
 ḡamī‘ manāfi‘ d-dār wa-marāfiq-h wa maḍkal-h wa maḡraḡ-h
 bi-kull ḥaqq huwa la-hā ma‘rūf wa ilay-hā mansūb lam
 yastabq l-bāyi‘ ṣayan min dālika ḥaqqan wa lā mulkan
 wa lā murtafiqan qalīlan wa lā katīran ‘illā ‘akraḡ ‘an-h
 li-ḡuliyen l-maḍkūr bi-l-bayi‘ l-batil š-ṣaḥīḥ alladī
 lam yataṣṣillu bi-h šarṭ mufsid wa lā tunyā wa la kiyār
ba‘d mu‘rifat-hā bi-taman ‘iddat-h ‘aṣrat danānīr wa niṣf
 min qanāṣarat l-ḡāriyyat ‘al’āna bi-madīnat saraqustat
 qabaḍ -hā l-bāyi‘ min-h ṭibat ḡiyādan muḡallabat wa qabaḍa-hā
 min-h ‘ala š-ṣifat l-maḍkūrat wa ‘abrā-h min-h wa nazala
 l-mubtā‘ ḡuliyen fī-mā ‘abtā‘-h mimmā ḍukira fī ḥāḍā l-kitāb
 wa ṣārat biyad-h wa nazala manzilat-h wa maḥall dī l-mulk
 fī mulk-h ‘alā sunnat l-muslimīn fī ṭibat buyū‘-h wa marāḡa‘
 ‘adrāka-hum šahada ‘alā ‘iṣḥād l-bāyi‘ l-mubtā‘ bi-mā ḍukira
 ‘an-h fī fī (2) ḥāḍā l-kitāb man ‘arif-hum wa sami‘ min-hum
 wa hum bi-ḥāl š-ṣiḥḥat wa gawāz l-amr wa dālika fī šahar
 ṣafar min sanat kamsat wa kamsīn wa kams māyat ‘intahā

- 1 HJB: qarār? river bed, valley? quran village,
jalón is a river.
- 2 GdeL: sic.

Comments

Paleography: dots are widely but not systematically used.

No vowel diacritics nor shadda.

These 3 documents: 4, 5, 6 are similar in legal contents.

The same witnesses appear.

New expressions:

ba'd mu^crifat: having learnt about (the conditions of the sale) rather than about the property.

ṣārat biyad-h: becoming obsolescent.

Translation

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful
Don Guillén de Almazán bought of Mohamed el ^cAluf the entire house which is his in the village of Urea by of the Jalon; the limits are to the south the house of Peter the priest and to the north a street and the house of Ali Ibn Farudj and to the east the lane and the church and to the west the house of Mohamed Ibn Abu l-^cAs - with its assets, utilities, entrances and exits, all its rights known and deriving from it and the seller not retaining anything nor any advantage on possessions or facilities, big or small but intends to relinquish it to Guillen, the purchase being definite and valid; there being no clause invalidating it, no further bid, no handing back; having learnt that the price is in amount of 10½ dinar qanāsar (censales) in Saragossa currency valid at the moment. The seller received it, it was handed over as specified and he was free from debt and the buyer Guillén settled, freed himself (from further obligation) as it was said in this deed and became owner and he occupied the property according to Islamic law and making good the sale and with the onus on the seller if there be a flaw. Those who declared against the statement of (for the) seller and the buyer from what was said in this deed knew them, heard it from them, while sound in mind and body and by their order this was done in the month Ṣafar of the year 555 end.

Doc. 7 dated 557 AH/1162 AD

Bilingual contract of exchange of some fields in the district of Pedrola.

bi-smi llāhi r-rahmān r-rahīm

ta'āwāda š-šinnūr balasīn ma'a 'abd l-'azīz bnu 'abd allāh
 l-murādī fī faddān (1) la-h fī bathā garyah baṭrūrah hadda
 l-faddān fī-l-qiblah sāqiyah wa-fī l-ğawf sāqiyah wa-fī
 š-šarq faddān li-balasīn wa-fī l-ğarb sāqiyah wa 'aḳada 'abd
 l-'azīz l-maḳkūr faddānayn 'itnayn hadda l-faddān l-wāḥid
 fī l-qiblat marğ wa-fī l-ğawf ṭarīq wa-fī š-šarq marğ wa-fī
 l-ğarb sāqiyah wa l-ḥaql t-tānī fī l-qiblah marğ wa-fī l-ğawf
 sāqiyah wa-fī š-šarq sa'īd bnu šabābī wa-fī l-ğarb ṭarīq
 l-'āmmat bi-mā fī l-faddān l-maḳkūr min l-manāfi' wa l-marāfiq
 wa l-maḳkal wa l-maḳrağ wa l-ḥuḳq kull-hā 'ağma' d-dākilat
 fī-h wa l-kāriğat 'an-h
 ta'āwḍan mabtūlan bi-lā šart wa-lā tunyā wa-lā kiyār ḥalla
 kull wāḥid min-humā fi-mā dufi'a-h ilay-h šāḥib-h wa-nazala
 fī-h 'alā sunnat muslimīn fī mu'āwḍāt-h=m wa-marāğ' adrak-hum
 ba'd mu'rifat-humā bi-qadr mā ta'āwḍan fī-h wa mablağ-h wa
muntahā kaṭarah wa-lam yağhalan šayan min dālika bala 'aḥāṭan
 bi-h ma'rifatan wa-'ilman wa-'alā sunnat l-muslimīn l-ğāyzat
 bayna-hum šahada 'alā 'iśhād l-mut'āwḍāyn l-maḳkūrayn bimā
dukira 'an-humā fawq hādā man 'arifa-humā wa-sami'a min-humā
 wa-humā bi-ḥāl š-ṣiḥḥat wa-l-ğawāz wa-dālika fī kamsat 'ašm
 yawman kalūna min šawwāl fī sa-nah sab' wa kamsīn wa kams
 māyat 'īsā bnu 'umar bnu sa'īd t-tağībī wa- Muḥammad bnu 'abd
 l-malik bnu kalḍūn t-tağībī wa ḥābil Ibn yaḥya l-'abdarā
 wa-salma bnu yaḥya l-'abdarā kataba 'an-h bi-'amr-h wa-rağā

1. G de L: a number of words are split at the end of a line.

فيسمى الله العمل بالعلم

نعاو كالتشور بلسمير مع عبد العزيز من عبد الله المراج و حد

أزله وبلغا عربه بطروره حد البدر في القبلة ساقيه ورجليه

سافيه ويه التترو ويدان الحسين ويه الغرب سافيه واخر عبد

الشيخ المرحوم ميرزا نبيزاد قاسم خاں القمي في الواحد من القبله مرج

والمعروف طوبى وفي السرى وفي القربى ما وجد

في الفقه مرجع في الجود - ابيه وفي القدر من الجود

من بين الامه بها في العراق المذكور من النماذج والمراجع والمداخل والبحر

عن علي بن ابي حمزة عن ابي عبد الله عليه السلام قال قال الله عز وجل

لا تدرى ولا يدرى ولا يخبر من قبل طلاق

ونزل فيه على سيد المستقيم ومعارضاتكم ومراجع ادراكهم

bnu sulaymān l-murādī kataba 'an-h bi 'amr-h wa mūsā bnu
 salma l-murādī kataba 'an-h bi- 'amr-h wa sa'īd Ibn 'abd
 r-rahmān l- 'anṣārī wa-mūsā bnu muḥammad bnu raġā t-taġībī.

Memoria de camio que fecit don palaçin cum Aunalaiç tio de abdella.
Dedit aunalic a don palaçin una peça de terra que habebat in petrola
semença de I...(1) et affrontat de oriente in peça de sancionecons (2)
et de occidente in peça de sancionecons et in alia parte affrontad in
peça de michael palaçin de las heras. Similiter dedit don palaçin ad
auinalaiç ...(1) I peça de terra qui est in illo rivo de fonte dè petrola
et affrontad in uinea de petro sanç et in alia parte dedit I. peça ...(1)
qui reg...(1) de richez et affrontad de oriente in peça in desseueui
et in uia de gallur. sic dedid don palaçin ad ille ad suo placibile
pro camio per de ista peça suprascripta et sunt fidanças de saluetat
affur de terra de parte de illo moro contra don palaçin Michael de
Castro et Muça de ualterra alamin. Et sunt testes uisores auditores
Morilla Muça auenuge Amdaldom alamin Garcia de arriols. Et fuit facta
ista carta in mense septembrii era MCC. Don Palaçin Senior in petrola
et alagone Episcopus Petrus in cesaraugusta Episcopus Martinus in
tirasçona. Ortiortiç in rota. Don blascho in boria
Ego abbate hanc cartam scripsi et de manu mea hoc + feci.

Comments

The first line is Arabic alternating with a gloss in Vulgar Latin, plus a few more details in the Christian dating.

Paleography: Arabic: same frequency of dotted consonants as in Doc. 6. No vowels, no shadda. A number of words are split at the end of a line.

Vulgar Latin: Letra corte-sana, very faint.

A linguistic analysis will follow the translations.

- 1 G de L (ed): undecipherable.
- 2 HJB: Sancho Ennecons.

والفيلة مروح في الحوزة - ساهبه وفي القنطرة - سعيدير شطام وفي القنطرة

سليم - والى ايامه ساهبه في القنطرة من المطامع والمراحم والمراحم والى

نست وانه مروح في القنطرة والى القنطرة في القنطرة والى القنطرة

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Translation of Arabic text:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Lord Palacín and Abdul Aziz, son of Abdullah al-Muradi, have exchanged a field belonging to him, in the area of the village of Pedrola. To the S., N., and W. an irrigation ditch limited the field, to the E. Don Palacín. The said Abdul Aziz has received two fields; the first being limited to the S. (by) a meadow, to the N. (by) a road, to the E. (by) a meadow, to the W. (by) an irrigation ditch; the second to the S. (by) a meadow, to the N. (by) an irrigation ditch, to the E. (by) Saïd Ibn Shababi, to the W. (by) a thoroughfare, with, as to the above mentioned field, the use, the facilities entrance and exit, all rights, arising internally and externally from it. They have made the exchange finally, with no obligation, no impediments and no option dissolving everything, for one of the two, by which they have settled one another according to Muslim law for what was exchanged and with no going back consciously on the deal after having got to know them, to the extent of the exchanged, its price and its liability. They are not ignorant of any aspect of it, but are aware, know and are informed according to Islamic Law as to what is lawful between them. (The following) witnessed the written statement of both exchanges and what was said about them, to their knowledge and having listened - with both (parties) in good health and sane - on the 15th day of Šawwal 557: 'Isa Ibn Amr Ibn Saïd al-Tağibi and Mohammed Ibn Abdul Malik Ibn Kaldun al-Tağibi and Habil Ibn Yayha al-Abdara and Salma Ibn Yahya al-Abdara wrote/signed this on his order, and Musa Ibn Salma al-Muradi wrote/signed this on his order, and Saïd Ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Ansari and Musa Ibn Mohammed Ibn Rağa al-Tağibi.

Translation of Vulgar Latin text:

Record of the exchange that Don Palaçin made with Abnalaic, uncle of Abdella. Abnalaic gave Don Palaçin a piece of land that he had in Petrola, (suitable) for sowing of I...(1) and facing to the E. land belonging to Sancho Necons, to the W. land belonging to SN and elsewhere a piece of land belonging to Michael Palaçin de las Heras (2). Similarly Don Palaçin gave Abnalaic (3) one piece of land which is on the other side of the stream/spring of Petrola and facing a vineyard of Petro-Sanç, and elsewhere he gave a piece (1) which is located (3) facing to the E. a piece of fallow? land and the road to Gallur. Thus Don Palaçin gave it to the latter to do as he please in exchange of the above mentioned piece. The guarantors concerning the deed on behalf of the Moor and against Don Palaçin, are Michael de Castro / from Castro and Musa from Valterra, the headman. Witnesses to the act and words are Morilla Musa Abenuge, Amdal-dom (4) the headman,

- 1 G de L: undecipherable.
- 2 de las heras: HJB: "threshing ground, vegetable gardens, fallow land"? It could be a surname, also; we have taken it in that meaning.
- 3 G de L: torn parchment
- 4 word partially erased

García from Arriols.

This document was written in September MCC (when) Don Palacin was Lord of Petrola and Alagón, Peter bishop of Saragossa, Martin bishop of Tarazona, Ortiortig of Roda, Don Blasco in Borja. I, the Abbot, wrote this document in my own hand and sign it thus +

COMMENTS

Arabic text:

Although the sample is limited, in its style, mainly to the formal usage of legal language and therefore does not present to any great extent a reflection of the spoken variety of the time, we must assume that the contents were understood and form part of the passive competence of a definite group of people. It is also clear that the Christian party did not understand either what was said (colloquial register) or what was written in Arabic (formal style) despite the reiterated affirmations on the subject in the text, as may be seen from the garbled names of the Moors concerned.

ta^Cāwaḍa š-šinnūr balasīn ma^Ca Cabd l-^Cazīz ... fī faddān
[V I N I N I N (i)

la-h fī baṭḥā qar-yah baṭrūrāḥ ḥadda l-faddān ... sāqiyah
[I N I N N] [V I N (i) N]

The string follows the predicted word with the exception of the embedded clause

"la-h fī baṭḥā qar-yah baṭrūrāḥ"
[I N I N N]

in which the component V is ∅, this deletion is quite common in Cl.Ar. and expresses possession: [V-∅ la-N (N) (IN)]

Triliteral Roots:

V= ^C.W Ḍ ta^Cāwaḍa

N= Q B L qibla=h

Ḥ D D ḥadda

S Q Y sāqiya=h

Invariants

but B L S N "Palaçin", loan: Proper name

I= M ^C. ma^Ca "with"

F fī "in"

L la "to" (belonging to)

Subordination

In a previous analysis (7.1.1), we maintained that the degree of formality of style can be appreciated in relation to subordination (1): the more formal the style, the more complex the sentences. In the present example, we have a sentence expanded by two embedded clauses:

- 1) Ø la-h fī baṭḥā qar-yah baṭrūrah
 [V I N I N N]
- 2) ḥadda l-faddān fī l-qiblah sāqiyah
 [V I N I I N N]

It is debatable whether this construction should be described as a relative clause. Semantically it may be justified as an expansion of faddān¹. At the level of syntax it is not an independent string, since it is not preceded by the usual invariants wa, fa, ^can. The most one can say is that it is in apposition.

Within subordination, relativization is particularly useful in a language contact situation as it highlights the difference between the Arabic varieties and the Romance dialects. The more an Arabic variety, at a given period, follows classical usage, the closer it is to mainstream Arabic dialects and mutual intelligibility; the more this variety resorts to relative construction common to Romance, the more it is converging towards Romance and the less intelligible it will be to Arabic speakers outside Spain.

Morphemic Alternations

The complexity found in the syntactic form is compounded by a wealth of morphemic alternations within the text.

1 Keenan E.L. in Fasold and Shuy (1975). The statistical data on frequency of relative clauses confirm this intuition.

The dual occurs not only in (N) components but in (V) components, ta^Cāwaḍa alternates with ta^Cāwaḍā; however the use of 'itnayn and mu^Cāwaḍāt-h=m compared to ma^Carifāt-h=mā are probably instances of hypercorrection or insecurity.

There are several other inaccuracies:

buṭḥā for buṭḥā' dropping the hamza

ṣayan for ṣa'an " " "

dālika for dālika with a spelling innovation (Cl.Ar. دالىك)
here دالىك

Vocabulary

qiblah = the direction of Mecca for the purpose of prayer

ḡawf = the other end

faddān = an acre

have acquired in this variety the specific meanings of:

-the opposite end to qibla, hence the North.

-South

-a field

sinnūr = senor/senior "lord"

balasīn = Palaçín

are Romance loan words, which have been altered to fit Arabic word formation: /nn/ is an approximation to /ñ/ present in Romance.

New legal expressions

ta^Cāwaḍa: exchange

mā duḥi-^Ca-h ilay-h ṣāḥib-h: with no option to breaking up
the partnership or joint deal

muntahā kaṭara-h: risk and liability

bi-qadr: to the full extent, in all its consequences

Vulgar Latin text:

With respect to Latin, the text^{cl.}

is far more divergent than the Arabic text compared to classical usage.

The usual word order in Latin places (V) at the end of the sentence; this order seldom occurs in the whole passage. Gone are most case endings of (N) components, although morphemic alternations common to Latin are still resisting in (V) components:

Fecit "he did"	
Dedit "he gave"	but note dedid
Habebat "he had"	

Invariants:

Common to Latin

Innovations

de (from)	peca <u>de</u> terra = "of", partitive(1)
cum	
in	
et	
ad	a
similiter	
sic	
pro	
per	
contra	

Their number and variety strike one immediately as being foreign to Latin usage, yet the innovation de explains their presence as semantic compensation for the loss of case endings.

Subordination

Most clauses are expanded by relativization and coordination; a frequent pattern is as follows:

[V.....N]	[N	V.....]][et V.....N]
[Dedit	peca]	[qui habebat]][et affrontat...sancionecons]

1 in illo riuo de fonte is ambiguous as to: from/of.

Vocabulary

camio "exchange"
 peça de terra "piece of land"
 semente "sowing" (land)
 tio "uncle"

are not recognizable as Latin words but as Romance; they are still in use with slight modifications in modern Spanish:

cambio, pieza de tierra, simienza, tío.

alamin = Arabic loan from al- 'amīn, "elder, headman, guardian"

The use of the definite article has not taken place yet, which enables one to describe this passage as Vulgar Latin rather than any of the differentiated later dialects such as Aragonese or Catalan.

Dialectal features

Neither have the tonic vowels /e/ and /o/ undergone diphthongization as would be the case in western and central Romance dialects:

terra	tierra
peça	pieza
fonte	fuelle
rota	Rueda

Document 8, dated rabī^c the first 577 AH (July-August 1181), is a contract of exchange of some land in Tarbena for some land in Cascajo under tithe farming conditions, between the Prior of Santa María and the sons of Ibn Utba according to Islamic Law sixty years after the Christian reconquest of the region! (1)

- 1 This policy is confirmed over a wide geographical area (Fueros), despite opposition from the Vatican, who frowned upon Moslem settlers. It says much for the early tolerance and independence of the Church in this part of Spain.

bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm wa-sallā llāh 'alā

muḥammadin wa-ā-lihi wa-sallima.

ta'āwada āḥmad bnu muḥammad ibn 'utbah s-silmī wa-āk-h
yūsuf bnu muḥammad bnu 'utbah s-silmī wa-naṣīb-hum muḥammad
bnu 'alī bnu babāğ bnu sahlī (1) l-'anṣārī wa-'ukt-h maryam
bint 'alī bnu babāğ bnu sahl l-'anṣārī bi-ğamī' l-mīrāt
llaḍī (2) kāna la-hum bi-tarbāna min 'arḍ wa-ğannāt wa-diyār
wa-kurmāt wa-qafr wa muḥy ma'a l-brīūrīya-h min šant mariyah
dūn ġulyem da narbūna fī qaryat qaš-qaliyah bi-ğamī' l-'arḍ
llaḍī kāna li-ğarsiyah l-qabalāruh wa-zāyada ma'a-hā faddān
qazāla-h matā' t-tūtah wa-t-tānī matā' al-baḍiyeluh matā'
dūn ġulyem min l-mašan fī qaryat qašqaliyah min 'arḍ
wa-ğannāt wa-diyār wa-kurmāt wa-anādir wa-qafr wa-muḥy

wa-'alā 'an karağū banū ibn 'utba-h bi-ğamī' hādā fī
qašqaliyah wa-'alā 'an yakūnū fī hādā l-'arḍ matā' qašqaliyah
'an yakūn la-hum mālan wa-mulkan wa-'alā 'an yakūn l-'arḍ
matā' tarbānah min šantah mariyah mālan wa mulkan wa-'alā
sunnat l-muslimīn fī tībat mu'āwadāt-h=m l-ğāyizah bayna-hum
mu'āwadat ṣaḥīḥah ġāyizah nāğizat mabtūlan bilā šart mufsid
wa-'alā 'an yakūnū 'ašraka fī qaryat qašqaliyah 'alā niṣafayn
sawwiayn 'an yağ'ala l-brīūrāh ġamī' naṣāfat-h fī l-'amal
wa-fī t-tīrān wa-'alā 'an yukurğ ġamī' naṣāfat-h min-hum fī
qašqaliyah fa-in ta'āwad 'aḥd li-banū ibn 'utbah fī hādā
l-'arḍ matā' a qašqaliyah 'an yaqīfū-hum fī hādā š-šart
l-muštaraṭ z-zāmin š-šinnūr dūn ġalind yuwānaš llaḍī
daḡalū-h l-brīūrāh 'inda banū bnu 'utbah wa 'adḡalū banū
ibn 'utbah dāmi-nan 'an yaqīfū fī š-šurūt l-muštaraṭ fawq

_____ = Romance loan v = vowel in Ms.

1 HJB: in Ms.

2 G de L: tear.

hādā 'inda l-briyūrah š-šinnūr dūn banaḍīt damānan ṣaḥīḥan
 ḡāyizan wa- 'an'amū bi-hādā li-damin llaḍī daḡalū wa 'alā 'an
 yaḡ'ala l-briyūrah naṣāfat-h min z-zarriḥ wa-min kull šay
 wa-banū ibn 'utbah 'an lā ya'aṭū min hādā l-'arḍ li-l-briyūrah
 wa-lā li-šantah Maryah illā naṣāfat-h wa-lā 'aktar fa'in
 'aṭā-hum l-briyūrah 'arḍ 'aktar min ḡayr hādā 'an ya'malū
 banū ibn 'utbah kamā ya'malū 'ahl qaryat qaṣṣaliya-h
 fa-bi-dālika yaś-had man 'arifa-hum wa-sami'a dālika min-humā
 'aḡma'a wa-humā bi-ḥāl ṣ-ṣiḥḥat wa l-ḡawāz wa-dalika fī
 šahr rabī' l-awwalan sannat sab' wa-sab'īna wa-kams māyat wa
 huwa l-'arḍ l ma'wsufat muzāra'at 'ašrīn qafīz wa 'an yakūn
 matā' qaṣṣaliyah llaḍī kāna l-ḡarsiyah lqabalāruh wa
 faddānayn mālan wa-mulkan li-banū bnu 'utbah wa bi-h ṣaḥḥ
l-'aḡd mas'ūd bnu yūsuf bnu muwārīt š-šabānī šāhid bi-dālika
 wa-bītruh qaṣṣaliyah l-nasrān šāhid bi-dālika kataba 'an-h
 bi-'amr-h maḡdar-h wa ḡarsiyah walid ḡalind yuwānas šāhidu
 'ayda kataba 'an-h bi-'amr-h maḡdar-h

Comments

Paleography: Writing very clear. Dots are systematically placed above and below consonants, wherever required, with the occasional vowel diacritic and shadda.

A linguistic analysis will follow the translation.

Translation

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Ultimate. May God bless Muḡammad and his people and grant them salvation!

Ahmed and his brother Yusuf, sons of Mohammed son of Utba al-Selmī, and their partner Mohammed and his sister Maryam, son and daughter of Babaḡ, son of Sahl al-Ansarī, have exchanged the whole of the estate they had in Tarbena, consisting of fields, orchards, dwellings, vineyard, waste lands and possessions with the Prior of Santa María Don Guillén de Narbona, for the whole of

the property in the village of Cascajo, which belonged formerly to García the knight; and in addition to that for a field, Cazella, the property of Tota, and another, the property of el Vadiela belonging to Don Guillén of Almasan, in the village of Cascajo, with the land, orchards, dwellings, vineyards, threshing areas, waste lands and possessions.

On the condition that the sons of Ibn Utba having opted for the estate of Cascajo in its entirety, live there on this land that is theirs by deed and by right.

On the condition that the land owned in Tarbena, by deed and by right, by Santa María, according to Islamic Law, the mutual exchange (done) in goodwill legally between both parties, the exchange is valid, legal completed definitely without condition invalidating (it).

On the condition that they be tenant farmers, in the village of Cascajo, with a division into two shares, and that they pay the Prior one whole share in work and in cattle.

On the condition they relinquish all their share in Cascajo, should one of the sons of Ibn Utba have exchanged some of this land owned in Cascajo.

And that they follow the conditions of this partnership, the Lord Don Galindo Johannes stands as guarantor on behalf of the Prior against the sons of Ibn Utba, and the Lord Don Benedict as guarantor for the fulfilment of the conditions on behalf of the sons of Ibn Utba, that they are correct, legal, agreed upon, in the contract they entered.

On the condition they give the Prior the share of the farming and of anything else, that they give the Prior or Santa Maria no more than the share of the land; that the Prior give the sons of Ibn Utba no more land other than that, that they work as much as the people of Cascajo.

On account of this, (the matter) was witnessed by those who were informed and heard the whole statement from both parties, both parties being sound of health and mind, this being correct and legal - in the month of rabī^c the first of the year 577 - the land and the share cropping contract described as 20 gafiz (measures of grain) is in Cascajo, the former property of García the knight and two fields belonging by deed and by right to the sons of Ibn Utba, and on their behalf as to the exactness of this (document) thereby signs Mas^cud Ibn Yusuf Ibn Mawarīt al-Sabani as witness to this, and Pedro? of Cascajo the Christian as witness to this signed/wrote this on his order, he being present, and García son of Galindo Johannes as witness also signed/wrote this on his order in his presence.

Comments

The word order is overwhelmingly

[(I) V (I) (N) ...]

but note also

... ma^a l-briyuriya=h ... dūn ġulyam
I N N N

The borrowing introduces a permutation in the Arabic word order, in as much as the title: e.g. al-'amīn would follow the person's name. However there is one Romance proper name that seems a calque of the Arabic:

l-ġarsiyah l-qabalāruh :: sahl l-'anṣārī

The usual order for Romance names is : title and name, as

š-šinnur dūn banaḍīt

The systematic coordination by means of wa and wa...fa is a feature characteristic of Arabic.

Expansion

The passage shows a variety of embedded clauses of the type:

[(I) V...[(I) I V...[I I V)]]
[ta^aāwaḍā [wa 'alā 'an karaġū]]
V I I V
[wa 'alā 'an yukurġ [fa 'in ta^aāwaḍ]]]
I I V I I V

[wa adkalū ['an yaqifū]]
I V I V

as well as:

[(I) V ... (I) (N) [N V]]
ta^aāwaḍā ... bi-ġamī^c l- mīrāt llaḍī kāna la-hum
[V I N [N V]]
'an yaqifū-hum fī haḍā š-šart...z-ḡāmin...ġalind llaḍī
[I V I N N N [N
daḡala-h l-briyūrah
V N]]
fa bi-dālika yašhad man 'arifa-hum wa sami^a dālika
[I I N V [N]I[V]]

In the formal register/style the anaphoric enclitic pronoun - here underlined - refers back to the argument of the main clause, this pronoun is deleted in the vernacular and therefore its presence or absence is significant in assessing register or style.

The above mentioned types illustrate a complex pattern of subordination together with systematic coordination.

Morphemic Alternations

Compared to Classical usage there are three striking innovations:

- i) The occurrence of (V) perfective in an expanded clause:

‘alā ‘an karağū banū ibn ‘utba

- ii) A new rule of concord which converges towards Romance, i.e.

Cl.Ar V sign. with pl. N -----> V pl. with pl. N

‘alā ‘an karağū banū Ibn ‘utba
wa-adkalū banū ‘utba

- iii) The loss of the feminine gender for ‘arḍ means the non-occurrence of fem. forms for llaḍī, ḥāḍā, kāna, huwa ...

The case ending system no longer applies after prepositions, where the script would reveal vowel alternations, as in ‘aḥd li-banū; ‘inda banū. This leads one to the opposition of definiteness/indefiniteness clearly described and specified by Arab grammarians, whereby indefiniteness was expressed by case endings and definiteness by other means, such as the article ‘al or deictics ḥāḍā etc. If case endings are disappearing and, at the same time, we find a redundant use of the article ‘al in this text as in Document 7, e.g.

l-ğarsiya, l-qabalāru, this points to a redefinition of the opposition which might explain the following spelling:

rabī‘ l awwalan (l- _____ -an);
Def Ind

and the subsequent extension in use of matā' :

wa- t-tānī matā' al-baḍiyāluh mata' dūn ġulyam

which may indicate convergency with the Romance particle de.

There are a number of spelling inconsistencies, confirming comments made in Document 7:

i) dropping of the hamza: ġa ġzat for ġā'izat
 māyat mā'iat [mi'at]
 šay ša'i [šai']

ii) uncertainty as to vowel quantity: zāmin
 dāminan
 damānan
 dāmin

as well as confusion between z and d, indicating similar pronunciation.

Spanish-Arabic: anšafa = to pay.

Loan words

l-brīyūriyah, l-briyūrah = el prior "the Prior"

šant mariyah = Santa María from the Latin Sancta Maria.

The other borrowings refer to people or place names (see translation): gulyem da Narbona :: gulyam min l-masān (hybrid).

Note however "a" in Arabic script becomes "e" in Romance, which coincides with the first stage of the imāla ([a]→[e] in given contexts)

qabalāru	=	caballero
tarbāna	=	tarbena
qazāla	=	Cazella
baḍiyāluh	=	Vadiello

The general impression is that the style of Document 8 is more literary than Document 7, on account of its numerous expanded clauses further linked by wa and fa coordinators. Therefore this text tells us less about linguistic change in the spoken idiom than the earlier contract. Nevertheless the historical value of this deed is considerable, as we have said, in the first paragraph, for any social or legal history of the time.

Legal formulae:

This is the first document of the collection where the property is not geographically situated with regard to neighbours or landmarks.

New expressions: (ta'āwada) X and Y 'alā'an, X exchanges with Y on the condition, rather than ta'āwḍan mabtūlan "a definite exchange";

mālan wa mulkan "by right and by deed"

'ala 'an yakūnū 'ašrak = tenant (tithe) farming contract

'an yaqifu-hum fī haḍā š-šarṭ l-muštaraṭ ḡ-ḡāmin š-šinnūr dūn ḡalind = (on the condition) that they follow the conditions of the partnership, the Lord Don Galindo stands as guarantor.

fa-'in 'atā-hum l-briyūrah 'arḍ 'akṭar ... 'an ya'malū banū ibn 'utbah kamā ya'malū 'ahl qaryat qašqaliyah = clauses protecting the tithe farmers against any increasing load of work.

bi-h šaḥḥ l'aqd = as to the exactness of the document.
Islamic dating.

Document 9, dated 581 AH/1185 AD, Mortgage.

bismi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm

'arhana yūsuf l-'alūf li-š-šarīk dun ḡuliyen di narbunah
n-nuṣif l-faddān alladī la-h bi-buḡahā (l) šomuntan ḡadda
l-faddān bi-l-qiblat s-sāqiyat wa-fī l-ḡawf ḡadaf wa-misqī wa-
fī š-šarḡ misqī wa-fī l-ḡarb faddān sa'īd bnu ḡantal 'adad
ṭ-ṭaman itnīn 'ašar dīnar ḡanāšar min l-ḡanāšar l-ḡariyyat min

1 GdeL: sic; HJB: bathā' "sandy valley, flat country".

saraqustat hīna tārḱ hādā l-kitāb bi-ḡamī^c manāfi^c -h=m wa-
 madḱal-h=m wa-makḱraḡ-h=m wa-huwa bi-kull ḡaqq huwa la-hā
ma^c lūm wa ilay-hā mansūb lam yastabq hādā r-rāhin l-madḱūr
 wa 'abra-h min ḡamī^c t-taman muḡallaban ḡiyādan ma^cdūd fa-bariyā
 fa-nazala l-mulk fī mulk-h bala aḡāt bi-dālika ma^crufat wa
 'ilman wa- alā sunnat l-muslimīn fī tīb 'arhan-h=m 'an taḡdīd-h=m (1)
 wa-arhan-h=m hādā l-faddān 'an sitt a^cwām min aḡušt il
aḡušt min bi-dālika šahada 'alā 'iṣḡādan hādā l-kitāb man
 'arifa-humā wa sami^c min-humā wa-humā bi-ḡāl ṣiḡḡat wa-ḡawāz
 l-'amr wa dālika fī šahar ramaḡān allāh min sanat 'aḡadī wa-
 tamānūn wa kams māyat wa yuwan de daruga-h šāhid wa-muḡammad
 bnu abī l-'ās šāhid kataba 'an-h bi'amr-h
 _____ = Romance lexical items

Comments

The original was not identified in the collection, for this reason G d L's version is given as such. There is little new in this document, it is shorter than others, there is no subordination. Strings are coordinated with two instances of wa followed by fa. The language is concise and correct with a few Romance loans.

'ala iṣḡādan: shows traces of nunation, with a neutralized -an morph surviving from the loss of the case distinction.

New legal expressions:

'arhan : to mortgage

'an sitt 'awam min...min: duration, time clause "for 6 years from...to..."

'an taḡdīd: from specification (date of contract specifying...)
 ma^clūm = deictic (known, described, etc.)

Dating: Although the document is dated by the Islamic calendar, the mortgage runs from the Christian month of August to August. Probably because the solar months are constant in the yearly cycle in relation to the harvest.

(1) G d L: Split word, difficult reading

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful Yusuf el-^cAluf mortgaged to his partner Don Guillén half the field which is his, in the plain of Somontano- the field borders to the south an irrigation ditch and to the north a rise and an irrigated field and to the east an irrigated field and to the west a field of Sa'id Ibn Hantal - for the amount of 12 dinars (censales?) in valid currency of Saragossa at the date of this document with all its profits, entrances and exits, with all rights known that are his and those deriving from it. The pledger does not retain any right and is free from any obligation with the whole sum, having handed over the amount willingly and is thereby free and has taken up possession, knowing exactly about the matter, being informed and aware according to Islamic law, making good the mortgage from its specification and the field is in pledge for 6 years from August to August. Declaring against this document are those who know them, have heard it from them, know that they are sound in body and mind and that this is at their request in the month of Ramadan of year 581 - Witnesses: Juan de Daroca and Mahomed Ibn Abi el 'As who wrote/signed for them on order.

Document 10, dated 601 AH/1205 AD, Mortgage of 2 fields.

bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi tubita 'indī wa sallā-llāhu
'alā muḥammadin wa 'āli-hi wa sallamu
 'arhana muḥammadu bnu muḥammad bnu ḡalib li-l-briyūr mata'
ṣanta-mariyyah wa-li-ḡamī' ahli ṣanta-mariyyah ḡamī' l-faddādayn
bi baṭ-ḥḥati (1) balṣid bi-ḥawmati burūn-h wa-ḥadda muntahā
fī-l-ḡawfi faddān alladī 'aṣtarā-h 'ahl ṣanta-mariyyah min
muḥammad bnu ḡalib wa-fī l-garb faddān li-ṣabd allāh malindah
wa-fī ṣ-ṣarq faddān li-martīn ṣenis wa-qiblat misqā wa faddān
akar tānī bi-baṭḥati balṣid 'inda ḡanāni kalūf min l-ḡihāt
l-wahidat faddān li-muntanīr wa- 'aydā (2) faddān li-l-muntanīr
wa-ḡihāti akarat tarīq l-'ammal wa-mīna r-rāb'at l-ḡabal wa
l-faddān l-'awwalī 'arḥana-h bi-talātīn dīnar qanāsīr

1 HJB: sic.

2 HJB: spelt : ايضي

wa-l-faddān t-tānī bi- 'arb^c at danānīr qanāšīr min aḡust 'ila (1)
 'aḡuṣṭi li- 'āmin wāhidin aw la-hu tārīk hādā l-kitāb ba^cd 'an
 yaqallab l-faddādayn l-maḡkūrayn wa 'in kān wa laysa yakruḡa-
 humā 'ilā l-'amad l-maḡkūr fa-yamdī min aḡuṣṭ 'ila (1) aḡuṣṭ
 'arhan hādā l-faddādayn l-maḡkūrayn bi-ḡamī^c manāfi^c -h=mā
 wa marāfiq-h=mā wa harum -h=mā wa-bi-kull haqq huwa la-humā
 wa-bi-l-maḡkal wa bi-l-maḡraḡ 'ilay-himā wa hunā ṣaḥīḥan
 ḡā'izan n-nāḡizan (†) wa t-taḡsīr min l-maḡdīn min l-faddān
 l-wāhid maddīn wa-mina l-faddān t-tānī maddīn min t-taḡsīr
 wa ṣarat l-qanašīr fī yaḡ muḡammad bnu ḡālīb wa-fī yaḡ zawḡat
 'āysat ma^cdūdat muḡallabah wāfiyah tāmmah wa 'arhan hādā
 l-faddādayn l-maḡkūrayn muḡammadu bnu ḡālīb wa zawḡat-h
 'āysah wa banī-himā wa-ḡāminīn 'an taḡlīs l-faddādayn
 l-maḡkūrayn 'alā bnu mūsā bnu kaṡṡāb wa-muḡammadu l-ma^crūf-h
 bi-ḡirfān ṣahad 'ala (4) 'ishād r-rāhin wa l-murtahinayn
 mimman 'aṣḡadā-(2) humā wa ṣamī^ca min-humā wa 'arifa-humā
 wa-humā bi-hāl ṣiḡḡat wa-ḡawāz l-'amr fī l-'aṣar l-'awwalan min
 dī qi^cadat 'ām iḡdū (2) wa ṣattamāyat ṣahadu wa bi-l-'aḡamī
 ṣahar akri yawmi min yūniyuh ṣahadu 'isā bnu muḡammad bnu
 l-wazīr wa martīn baraṣṡan(3)=h l-naṣrānī kataba 'an-humā
 bi-'amr-h=mā wa maḡaḡra-humā tubita 'indū (2) l-'amām 'aḡmad
 bnu aḡmad... wa bi-hi ṣaḡḡ

_____ = Romance loans

v = vowel in Ms.

_____ = formulas

- 1 HJB: spelt: ج
- 2 HJB: last vowel spelt: |' ū or ā
- 3 HJB: sic?
- 4 HJB: sic.

Comments

Paleography: The only text that is vowelised until the end including sukūn. However damma and fatha are often identical.

The vowel diacritics are most useful in a number of ways:

- 1) They enable us to fix to a greater degree the pronunciation of this variety of Arabic from Aragon, in Cl3.

e.g. mīsqā, dāmin, sattamāyat

- 2) They show that case endings have not completely disappeared: li-ʿāmin wāḥidīn
ʿinda ḡanāni

- 3) Through them, one can appreciate what is common to Classical Arabic usage and what is not:

Deviant
Muḥammady
mina l-faddān_Ø
wa-ḡihātī ʿakrāt tarīq_Ø

- 4) Non-phonetic spelling is disappearing: ʿila for ʿilā
ʿala for ʿalā
- 5) Along with the vowel pointing, hamza has reappeared in some instances: ʿala ʿishād ḡāʿizan
instead of the more usual ḡāyiz.
- 6) Innovation: faddānayn is the usual form of the dual, here we have faddādayn.

Translation

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful - recorded by me - May God bless Muḥammad and his people and grant them salvation!

Mohamed Ibn Mohamed Ibn Galib mortgaged to the Prior of Santa María and the community of Santa María two fields in their totality in the plain of Belchite in the district of Borón and the limits reach to the north a field that they bought from Mohamed Ibn Galib and to the west a field of ʿAbdallāh Malenda and to the east (one) of Martin Senis and to the south an irrigated field and the other field, the second one, in the plain of Belchite is by the orchards of Khaluf, facing first a field of Montaner's and another of his and then the highway and (a) hill and the first field is pledged

for 30 dinars (qanasir) and the second for 4 from August to August for a year or from the date of the deed after handing over the two fields. And if it is so, save that he does not turn them out at that point but from August to August. The mortgage of both fields is with all the profits, the utilities and the sole ownership and with all rights, entrances and exits and (it is) hereby perfect, valid and complete the limit of the debt of the first is the debt, on the second the debt and the liability? and the money was handed over to Mohamed Ibn Galib and to his wife Aisha in the total amount given. The mortgagers of the two fields are Mohamed, his wife Aisha and their children and guarantors in the repayment of the two fields to Ibn Musa Ibn Khaṭṭāb and Mahomed known as Ghirfan. Both parties witnessed the statement and the people heard it from them and knew them to be sound in body and mind, at their request in the first ten days of Dhul Qa^cda in the year 601 and in Aḡami on the last day of the month of June. Witnesses: C^cIsa Ibn Mahomed Ibn el Wazir and Martin _____ the Christian, he **signed** (it) for them at their command and in their presence, Ahmed Ibn Ahmed recorded it in front of them, it is valid.

New legal expressions

ba^cd 'an yaqallab = after taking up possession

laysa ya-kruḡa-humā ilā l-'amad l-maḡkūr fa yamḡl mina = he may not expell them at that point but as from

hunā = hereby

nāḡiz = complete with its opposite taḡṣīr

'an taklīs = in repayment

murtahin = person taking up a mortgage

Note the significant change in the description of the limits starting with the North and then the West, instead of the direction of Mecca and then the East.

Dating is still by Islamic calendar. Yet in the deed

there is a reference to the date and the month of the Christian calendar.

Document 11, dated 624 AH/1227 AD, Bill of Sale for a house and field in Ricla

bi-smi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm tubita 'indī saḥḥ sallā
allāhu 'alā muḥammadin wa 'ālih wa sallama taslīman (1)
'abtā' l-briyūl l-'aḡil (2) dūn baṭru aḡunes briyūl min
šanta mariyah mutamallik d-dār min riklat min lub 'ibn 'abū
'iṣḥāq 'ibn sulī ḡamī' kiṣṣat-h min l-haql min l-faddān alladī
la-h lub l-maḡkūr fī baṭḥat riklat fī mawḍi' ma'rūf bi-maḥall
muntahā ḥadda-hā fī l-qiblat faddān min šanta mariyah wa fī
š-šarq mitla dālika wa-fī l-ḡawf faddān min 'abd allāh 'ibn
q-nbrat (3) wa-fī l-ḡarb faddān min Mīkayel l-ḥadād 'abtā'-h
min-h ibtā'at ṣaḥīḥat ḡāyizat nāḡizat māmūnat bi-ḡamī' huqūq-hā
wa-manāfi'-hā wa-marāfiq-hā wa qā'at-hā wa-bi-l-maḡkal
'ilay-hā wa-l-maḡraḡ 'an-hā wa-bi-kull ḥaqq huwā la-hā mansūb
wa ilay-hā ma'rūf min qadīm wa hadiṭ bi-taman maḡbūd 'iddat-hā
kamsūn dīnāra qanāširan min l-qanāšir l-ḡāriyat bi-madīnat
saraqustat dafa'a-humā l-mubtā' l-maḡkūr dūn baṭru li-l-bāyi'
l-maḡkūr lub wa-fī qabḍat-huma tibat giyadan muḡallaḡabat
ma dudat wafiyat tammah wa-ḡazā-humā ?(4) 'ilā mulk-h
wa-šārat biyad-h li-yaḡaḥhiz-h 'ilay-h wa taḥalla la-h ḡamī'
l-faddān l-maḡdūdāt maḥall-h dūn šarṭ mufsid wa la tuniyā
wa lā kiyār wa-nazala fī-h l-mubtā' l-maḡkūr dūn baṭruh
manzilat dī mulk li-mulk-h wa dī ḥaqq fī ḥaqq-h alladī lam
yastabqā l-bāyi' l-maḡkūr lub fī ḡamī' l-kiṣṣat l-maḡkūrat *
wa-lā muntafa'an qalīlan wa aḡṭīran illā wa 'aslaka nafsa-h
min-hā bi-l-bāyi' ṣaḥīḥ l-batt l-batūl wa-'alā sunnat
*wa li li-'ahad bi-sababi ḥaqqan wa li mulkan wa-lā murtafaḡan

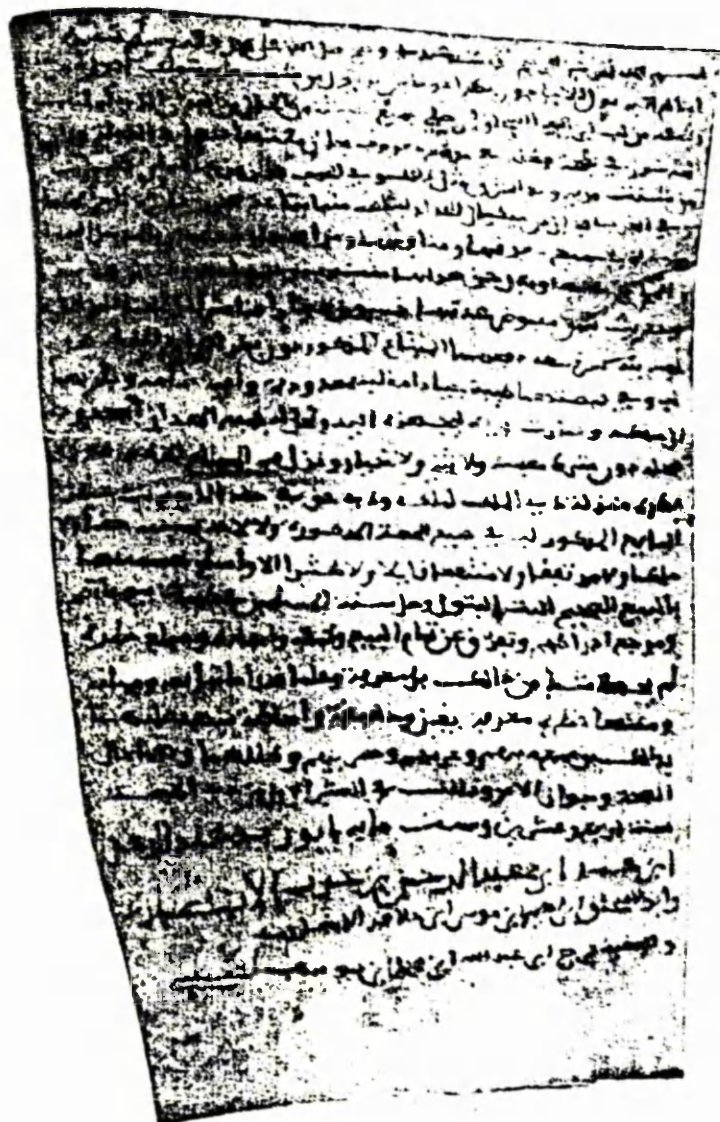
1 It should be noted that while the opening invocation is even more detailed, one of the parties is the Prior of Santa María. The sale takes place more than 100 years after the Christians had taken the region.

2 G de L: sic; HJB: 'aḡillā'

3 G de L: comparet

4 G de L: queried form; HJB: ḡarā "concur".

Collection of Arabic documents
Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Zaragoza, Spain.



Doc. 11

l-muslimīn fī tiyābat buyū^cat-h=mā wa-marǧa^c adrāk-kum
 wa tafarraqa ʿan tamān l-bayi^c wa-kamāl-h wa ʿinfād=h ʿan
 wa mablaǧ kaṭr-h lam yaǧhalan šayan min dālika bala ma^crifat
 wa ʿilman qadran mā tabāya^c -h wa-mablaǧ-h wa muntahan kaṭr-h
 ma^crifat yaqīn wa haqīqat wa-aḥāṭat šahada ʿalay-humā bi-dālika
 man sami^ca min-hum wa ʿarafa-hum wa-ḥadara fī-hum wukalā^c-

humā wa-humā bi-ḥāl ṣ-ṣiḥḥat wa-ǧawāz l-ʿamr wa-dālika
 fī l-ʿašr l-ʿawwal min dī l-hiǧat sanat ʿarba^c wa ʿašrūn wasatt
 māyat ʿabū ziyad ʿabd r-raḥmān ʿibn ʿamr ʿibn ʿabd r-raḥmān
 bnu hirt l-ʿanṣārī⁽¹⁾... wa l-faqīh farāǧ ʿibn ʿabd-allāh
 muḥammad ʿibn yūsuf t-taǧībī

(1) List of witnesses

===== Romance loan ----- formulae

Comments

Paleography: very few vowels diacritics, no shadda, dotted
 consonants only.

One notices in the text an expansion in the domain of the
 particle min to include "belonging to"

min rikāt "in Ricla"

min lūb "from Lub"

briyūl min šanta mariyah "the prior of Santa Maria"

faddān min šanta mariyah "a field of Santa Maria's"

faddān min ʿabd allāh "a field of ʿAbdallāh's"

ǧamī^c kiṣṣat-h min ḥaql min l-faddān "accessories pertaining
 to the field, in the field"

and an abundance of derived forms from a given triliteral root:

B Y ^c "to sell" ibtā^c; ibtā^cat; mubtā^c; bāyi^c; bayi^c, buyū^cat,
 tabāya -h

M L K "to own" mutamallik; mulk

^c R F "to know" ma^crūf; ma^crifat; ʿarafa

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful-
 recorded by me as such - May God bless Muhammad and
 his people and grant them his approving salvation.
 The honourable prior Don Pedro Agones, Prior of Santa
 Maria owner of the house in Ricla hereby buys from
 Lope Ibn Abu Ishaq Ibn Suli, all of his share of the
 field, in the field that is Lope's in the plain of
 Ricla in the given place - the limits being to its
 borders, towards the south a field belonging to Santa
 Maria, to the east the same, to the north a field of
 'Abdallāh Ibn Comparet? and to the west a field belong-
 ing to Miguel, the smith. He bought from him in a valid
 transaction, perfect, complete and safe with all its
 rights, its profits and utilities and built surface,
 entrances and exits, with all rights known and deriving
 from it from old and by oral tradition for the price
 reckoned in the amount of 50 dinars (canašir) in the
 currency of Saragossa. Don Pedro, the buyer, gave them
 to the seller Lope and he received them, making good the
 sale, having handed over the money, it being completely
 paid, both parties agreeing over it, the conditions
 being fulfilled, he relinquished the whole field within
 the given borders and the dwelling. There being no
 clause invalidating (the deal) no further bid and no
 handing back of the property after the sale. Don Pedro
 the buyer occupied the property as the owner in his
 possessions in his own right. The seller Lope reserves
 no right on account of this over the property, the
 accessories the utilities and the profits to any
 degree great or small but relinquishes them all with
 the definite and irrevocable sale according to Islamic
 law, the sale being carried out and with the onus on the
 seller if the contract of sale is dissolved and not
 completed. It is perfect and is being carried out. They
 know the import of the price; there is nothing they did
 not find out in this matter but know specifically and
 are aware of the implication of what is being sold,
 the price and its limits definitely, and are informed.
 The witnesses against them in this matter are those who
 heard it from them, know them and were present for them
 as their agents, knowing them to be sound in mind and
 body on their request in the first ten days of Dhul
 -hiḡat of the year 624. Abu Ziyad ... el Ansarí ...
 and the faqīh Farag ... el Tagibi.

Legal expressions:

yaqīn = definitely

kiṣṣat-h min = pertaining to

māmūnat = (deal) with risk

ma'rūf min qadīm wa hadīṡ = known of old and by oral tradition

maqḃūd, maḥdūd = deictics "reckoned and delimited"

taḥallī = severance

l-batt t-batūl = "definite and irrevocable"

infāḍ-h = its execution

kaṭr = h "import, significance"

wukalā' = attorneys, agents

'aslaḡa = to conclude, terminate

The document is dated according to the Islamic calendar.

Document 14, dated 901AH/1496AD, Receipt for the deposit of 1001 pieces (sueldos jaqueses) and 4 measures (qafīz) of wheat. (1)

bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmānī r-raḥīmī wa ṣalla llāhu ʿalā sayyidi-nā muḥammadin wa ʿālihi wa sallama
 ʿaṣḥada ʿalā anfus-h=m ʿabī ʿabd allāh muḥammadun aranda=h wa
 abī l-ḥasan ʿalī l-ḥasan wa-abī ʿabd allāh muḥammad l-ḥasan
 s-saḡir fī l-ayyām s-sākinūn fī mawḍiʿ l-ḥammām ṣuḥadā ḥadā
 l-kitāb fī ṣaḥīḥat-h=m wa-ʿaql-h=m wa gawāz amr-h aqarārā bi-
 l-ḥaqq wa inqiyādan ilay-h ʿanna-hum yaḥbisūn ʿinda-hum wa
 ʿinda kull wāḥid min-hum wadīʿat maḥaḏat (2) wa amān mūmin
 wa-dālika alf wāḥidī ṣulḍi furūdan ḡakāḡiyyat min l-ḡariyyat
 al ʿāna bi-araḡūn ḥīna tāriḡa ḥadā l-kitāb wa ʿarbaʿ aqfāz min
 qamḥin tayyiban naqiyyan min kayl madīnat saraqustat min l-
 mukarrami abū bākr bnu abū bākr min ahli qalʿat t-turāb
 aqarru muḥammad wa ʿalī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn bi qabḍi
 l-wadīʿat l-maḍkūrat min ʿinda l-maḍkūr abū bākr ʿinda-hum
 wa ʿinda kull wāḥid min-hum wa -fī qabḍati-him qabḍan wāfiyan
 wa anna abū bākr l-maḍkūr dālika ʿalay-hum wa ʿalā anfuṣi-him
 wa amwāli-him wa-dimmati-him ʿalā l-ḥulūl yākuḍ abū bākr
 l-maḍkūr l-wadīʿat l-maḍkūrat aw t-tālb ʿanh aw bi-sababi-h
 bi-ḥadā l-ʿaḡd min-hum aw min ayyi-him ṣāʿa matā raḍiya wa
 ʿaḡabb dūn maṭalin wa lā taʿkīr taḡta l-ilzām anfuṣi-him wa
 dimmati wa-amwāli-him hayṭu kānat wa ʿayna waḡadat
 wa-arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa ʿalī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 ʿanna ṣāḡiba l-wadīʿat l-maḍkūrat yākuḍ min-hum min ṣāʿa wa
 arāda l-ḡaḍīr ʿan l-ḡaʿib wa l-maḡlī ʿan l-faḡīr wa s-ṣaḡīh
 ʿan l-marīd wa l-hayy ʿan l-mayit

1 Ed. Ribera (1897:II:453ff). García de Linares's listing, Archivo de Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

2 HJB: maḡdat: genuine.

wa-lzima muḥammad wa 'alī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn anfus-h=m
 wa amwāl-h=m wa dīmmat-h=m wa kull wāḥid min-hum l-wāḥid
 'anḥākar wa 'an li-kull li wafā' wa-radda l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat
 li-ṣāḥib-h l-maḍkūr aw li-kull man ṭalab-hā aw bi-sabab-h
 bi-haḍā l-'aḡd wa ma'a dālika alzima muḥammad 'alī wa muḥammad
 l-maḍkūrīn anfus-h=m wa amwāl-h=m wa dīmmat-h=m bi-insāf
 wa kulifa ḡami'u l-manā'ib wa n-nafaqāt wa l-kasārāt wa
 l-'atālati li-ṣāḥib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat inṭasabbaba aw ṭ-ṭālib
 'an-h aw bi-sabab-h 'alā ṭalb wadī'at-h l-maḍkūrat min ayy
 l-mana'ib wa n-nafaqāt wa l-kasaratī
 arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa 'alī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'an ta'māl ṣekusiyyun fī amwāl-h=m wa amwāl kull wāḥid
 min-hum ḡami'an aw mufradan fī kull mawḍi' yūḡadu wa 'in
 yubā' dālika ḥasab sīrat l-maḡlis wa 'āddati l-farīdat
 l-manfa'at ṣāḥib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa-li-maḍarrat-h=m
 'ilā 'an yakūn ṣāḥib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat mansūfan wa musayyiran
 min wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa min manā'ib-h wa nafaqāt-h
 l-muta'arradat la-h 'alā ṭalb l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat.
 wa-arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa 'alī wa-muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'in yakūn ṣāḥib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat aw ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h aw
 bi-sabab-h bi-haḍā l-'aḡd muṣaddaḡan bi-kalimah dūn yamīn
 wa lā ṣahūd talzima-h li-ḥabs dālika wa ikmāl-h alzima
 muḥammad wa 'alī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn anfus-h=m wa
 amwal-h=m sākinat wa mutaḥarrikat maksūbat wa
ḡayr maksūbat wa kāṣṣat alzima muḥammad wa 'alī wa
 muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn ma'iat wa kamsīn ra'sān min mu'a'iz-h=m
 min alwān mukālīfan
 wa-arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa 'alī wa-muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'in yakūnnū mahbūsīn wa masḡunīn aw min wuḡid min-hum

bi-sabab l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat fī kull makāna yūḡadu aw ayy-h=m
 yu'kaḍ lā yakni-h=m kanasiyyat lā makāna ṣāhirī wa-lā ḡayr-h
 wa-arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa 'alī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'an yakūn ṣāhib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat aw ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h aw
 bi-sabab-h qāḍran 'alā ṭalb l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat wa-l-manā'ib
 wa-n-naḥqāt 'an ta'arraḍat la-h 'amāma ayy ḥākim šā'a
 wa 'asaqtū 'an-hum ḥākim-h=m r-rātib wa sallimū (1) wa-ḡa'lū
 anfus-h=m li-ḥukūmat wa 'aḡalat 'a'nī aḡurīdīksīun i-kunbulš
min ayy ḥākim šā'a ṣāhib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat aw ṭ-ṭālib 'an-h
 bi-sabib bi-ḥaḍā l-aḡd yud'ī-h=m wa-kāṣṣat li-yaḡal-h=m
 li-ḥukūmat a ḡustisiyyat ḍaragūn wa na'ib-h
 wa-arāda wa raḍiya muḥammad wa 'alī wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn
 'anna-hum lā yaḡdar yanfa' la-hum fī tamṭil qada' l-wadī'at
 l-maḍkūrat ṣāḥirun wa lā 'aḡdun wa-lā firārūn wa lā ḡayr-h
 wa lā l-fuwerū alladī yu'ayyin la-hum min l - 'aṣarat
 l-ayyām li-ṭalb 'uqūdan aw barāwāt aw ḡayr dālika bala
 'asqatū ḡamī' dālika wa 'abṭala-h=m kalā šay'ī (2) wa 'aṭāla-hum
 wa 'in lā yaḡbrū (1)-hum min l-wadī'ati maḍkūratī wa-l-manā'ib
 l-muta'anīḍat la-h aw bi-sabib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat illā aqrār
 ṣāhib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat bi-qabḍ-hā aw barāt min
yad kātib maṣḥūr bi l-wāḡib wa-l-tazama muḥammad 'alī
 wa muḥammad l-maḍkūrīn li-ṣāhib l-wadī'at l-maḍkūrat
 l-akmāl la-h min ḥaḡq dūn ḥukūmat wa lā kiṣāmin wa-lā
taṣāḡurin wa ḥalaḡfū 'alā dālika l-yamīn l-wāḡib 'alay-hum
 bi'allāhi alladī lā ilāh illā huwa
 šahada bi-dālika kull-h min ašhdā-h muḥammad 'alī wa muḥammad
 l-maḍkūrīn bi-mā ḍukira 'an-hum fī ḥaḍā l-kitāb man 'arifa-hum

1 HJB: no final alif.

2 HJB: spelt: شَيْءٌ

wa sami'a min-hum wa-huwa bi-ḥāl l-mawsūf 'a' lā-hu
 ḡālika yawm t-talātāt t-talt wa l-'ašrīn min šahar
fabari sanat aḥdā wa-tis' ma'iat
 wa-ḥaḡā l-muḡayyad 'a' lā-h kamā huwa mansūsun ḡāwaz bi-
 ḡadarat l-mukarram abī l-ḡasan 'alī darcuś (šahada) wa abī
 iṣḡāḡ iḡbrāḡīm de arkuś (šahada) kalā-humā min baladat l-ḡammān
 wa katabt ḡaḡā-mursūn abī muḡammad ibn Mūsā bnu yaḡya
 bnu musā bnu l-ḡasan wa-kāna ḡālika 'anna l-faḡīh l-mukarram wa
 n-ḡabīl l-murfa' abi iṣḡāḡ iḡbrāḡīm setinā-h 'anna hu' ista'dan-lī
 bi-raṡmī-hi kamā tara ḡālika 'anna-h yakūn kaḡīm ḡāma'
 baladat l-ḡammām fī ḡaḡā l-fūr wa-kātib maśḡūr fī-h
 wa bi-'amr-h wa-ḡadarat wa bi-idn-h katabt-h wa karḡat-h
 min zimāmi kamā huwa manṡūs 'a' lā-h
 wa-kaḡālika ayḡan bi-idni l-ḡurama' i l-maḡkūrīn 'a' lā-h wa-
 bi'idn min waḡibān wa-bi-h saḡḡ wa-tabita bi l-waḡib a'lat-h
 intahā wa bi-akbar kamāl wa taṡḡīq fī ḡaḡā anna l-faḡīh l-
 murfa' l-maḡkūr 'an-h kataba šahādat-h=m bi-kaṡṡ yad-h wa min
 allāḡ t-tawfīq s-salāma
 wa-anā iḡbrāḡīm ssetinā l-banī ḡalīḡī kaḡīm ḡāma' l-balad
 l-maḡkūr wa kātib maśḡūr fi-h ista'dant ilā s-sayyid l-faḡīh
 l-maḡkūr bi-katb ḡaḡā l-'aḡd l-muḡḡayyad 'a' lā-h wa tubita
 laḡayya wa bi-ḡālika katabt šahādatī bi-kaṡṡ yadī wa l-ḡamdu
 llāḡ rabb l-'ālamīn.

————— = formulae (1)

===== = Romance loans

Comments

Paleography: Dotted consonants with some vowels and shadda.

Same scribe as Doc.15. Postscript in a less cursive hand
 validating the above deed.

(1) cf 7.331 and 743 for comments on legal expressions.

Translation

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! May
God bless our Lord Moḥammad and his people and grant peace!

Abi 'Abdallāh Moḥamed Aranda, Abi el Hasan, Ali el Hasan and Abi 'Abdallāh Moḥamed el Hasan the younger, these days domiciled in the locality of Alhama (Alfamen?) call on their behalf the witnesses of this document (to certify) that they are sound of mind and body, as to the legality of this deed, (issued) at their request, and to its truth - that under their personal responsibility, they have in their keeping, one and all, a genuine deposit free of claims under trustworthy surety and that it is 1001 pieces in Jaquese coins (Jaca) in the currency of Aragon at the date of the deed and 4 measures (qafīz) of clean wheat in weights of Saragossa from the honourable Abu Bakr Ibn Abu Bakr from the community of Calatorao. The above mentioned Mahomed, Ali and Mahomed (Mahomed & co.) acknowledge that they have the mentioned deposit on behalf of the same Abu Bakr under personal responsibility, one and all. They hold the whole delivered deposit and that Abu Bakr having this deed and the security of their wealth, his claimant or whoever represents him in this matter may retrieve, on dissolving the agreement, the same deposit through this document from them or any of them WHOEVER until satisfied and content with delay nor default under obligation, their individual responsibility and the security of their wealth wherever it be.

The same Mahomed and co. agree that the owner of the deposit may withdraw it from them in this deal and the present agree on behalf of the absent, the rich for the poor, the healthy for the sick, the living for the dead. Mahomed and co. are bound under their personal responsibility and the security of their property, one and all, each for the other, to repay it on its totality and to return the said deposit to the owner of the deposit and all of it to whom might claim it or whatever through this document; and with this, Mahomed and co. are bound personally and against their property to paying it back and all incurred expenses, costs, losses and damages to the owner of the deposit - as a result of it - or to his agent or whoever represents him in retrieving the deposit from the agents and costs.

Mahomed and co. agree to part with their property, the property of each and every one of them, together or separately, wherever they be and sell it the amount decided by the court in compensation for the use of the owner of the deposit until it has been met in full, the deposit, and the expenses and costs in claiming back the deposit. Mahomed and co. enter into an agreement with the owner of the deposit, his agent or whoever represents him, with this deed and their bond is their word without taking oath nor having witnesses to compel them as to the deposit and the fulfilment of this (the conditions) undertaken against their persons and wealth - in stock, distributed, tied up, invested and set aside. Mahomed and co.'s security is 150 head (of cattle) of different species, all valuable to them.

They agree to be detained, retained or pressed on account of the said deposit wherever it be or with whom and to be deprived of sanctuary, refuge or otherwise. Mahomed & co. acknowledge and consent to the owner of the said deposit, his agent or whoever represents him in this matter, the power to claim the said deposit with costs and expenses and to raise the matter before ANY judge. They will forsake their usual judge and place themselves before the court and submit to the JURISDICTION AND DEALING OF ANY judge of the owner of the deposit's choice, his agent's or representative through this document. (They agree) they can be summoned to the court of the JUSTICIA OF ARAGON or his representative.

Mahomed and co. agree that they may not profit from the delay in settling the clause on the said deposit. With this deed there is no escape or otherwise and the CHARTER in which they have 10 days to meet the claim to be held, cleared or otherwise, they relinquish all that, everything will be cancelled and stopped if they have not freed themselves as to the deposit, incurred costs or whatever and the retrieval of it by the owner or the clearing of the debt at the hand of a notary public as binding. Mahomed and co. are under obligation to the owner of the deposit for the totality of it by right, in law without contention nor dispute and they swear to this that it is incumbent on them.

By God and there is none but Him.

All the witnesses confirm this which they were told by them - that is in this document - that they know them, heard it of them as recorded. This being on the 13th February of the year 901.

This is received above as it is known to be valid in the presence of the noble Abi el Hasan Ali Darcos (witness) and Abi Ishaq Ibrahim Darcos (witness) both from the district of Alhama and I wrote the deed (I) Abi Mohamed Ibn Musa Ibn Yahya Ibn Musa Ibn el Hasan and that was as the noble faqih known as Abi Ishaq Ibrahim Cetina had asked for permission for the writing of the deed and this was given for he is the attendant of the mosque in the district of Alhama and notary public by Charter and at the request of those present and their permission, I wrote as it is above and let him out of his obligation and also with the permission of the opposing party above mentioned and so with the permission of those under obligation, the deed is valid as to its injunction. End.

And for a greater perfection in this, the same faqih wrote the statement for them in his hand with God's blessing and peace. I, Ibrahim Cetina el Bani Haliq, attendant to the mosque in the said district and notary public having granted permission to the Lord faqih above mentioned for the writing of the document thus defined and binding recorded with me I wrote this statement in my hand. Thanks be to God, Lord of the Universe.

Docs. 13, 14, 15 are of a similar nature in that they refer all three to money transactions. Furthermore the first is from 1484 and the last two are dated 1496; there is an unfortunate gap of two hundred years separating Doc.12 and Doc.13. As a result and also because of the business under discussion, most of the legal expressions found in this group of documents are new, albeit in a simpler form in Doc.13. Indeed, what strikes one is the repetitiveness of Doc.14, in which a given condition is first mentioned, then repeated with a specification, repeated again with the specification to which is added a clarification, and the whole statement is then rewritten, and so on. Docs. 14 and 15 are virtually copies of each other under different names, as García de Linares pointed out (1). What is said for either document holds for the other. The clue as to why these documents were in the hands of the Church and kept for so long may be deduced from Doc.13. Faradj Toledano was the amīn of Calatorao. His duties were, among others, to collect from the Moslem community revenues due to the Church [por cuantos resagados que le acansaron del tiempo que era amīn]. The revenues would have amounted to substantial sums of money, if Calatorao was a village of importance. It seems this was the case as there were several attendants serving the mosque or mosques (faqīh's statements). We think Abu bakr was a later amīn and that the money he placed was not his own but the money collected from the community of Calatorao in revenue and that he was acting as Faradj had done in Doc.13 under instructions from the Church. It kept the documents because they represented important sums of money and because the Arabic content was understood with all its shades of meaning, by the interested parties.

Dating: Mixed dating: Christian month with Islamic year.

1 García de Linares (1904:192) note 3.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

LATIN

GRANADAN ARABIC-ALCALA (1505) BNM

- Pater noster
 qui est in caelis
 sanctificetur nomen tuum.
 Adveniat regnum tuum.
 5 Fiat voluntas tuas,
 sicut in caelo et in terra.
 Panem nostrum quotidianum da
 nobis hodie.
 Et dimitte nobis debita nostra
 sicut et nos dimittimus debit-
 oribus nostris
 10 Et ne nos inducas in tentationem
 sed libera nos a malo. Amen.
- Guáliduna
 alladí fa cemeguét
 cudúcun? ízmuqun
 tétime lecútuq.
 5 Tecúnu rrádatuq
 filárdi qeméti cemé.
 Qobzane cúlli yáumi a^catinehu fil
 héde alyáum
 gua agfirlí line dunúbene
 quemé nagfiru náhnu limen açá
 illéyna
 10 Gua le totkılna a tajárib.
 léquin negine mina xarr. amín. (1)

SPANISH

VALENCIAN ARABIC-AYALA
(1566) Roque Chabás ed.

- Padre nuestro
 que estás en los cielos
 Santificado sea tu nombre.
 Venganos tu reino.
 5 Hágase tu voluntad
 así en la tierra como en el cielo.
 El pan nuestro de cada día danos
 lo hoy
 Perdonanos nuestras dueñas
 así como nosotros perdonamos a
 nuestros dueños
 10 Y no nos dejas caer en la tentación
 mas libranos del mal. Amén.
- Huildine
 alledi ente fe cemehuet
 yetqueddéc ícmeq.
 mülqueq higfline
 5 ticír irádataq
 que mé fa camé cadhé fal árd.
 hóbzena mata cul-liem ahtih léne
 eliem
 huá agfer lena dhunú bene
 quif hénna nagféro le a^cadena.
 10 hua le tecóqna le tajárib
 léquin negine men cúlli dún. Amín.

MALTESE (modern)

- Missierna
 li inti fis-smewwiet
 jitqaddes ismek.
 tiġi saltnatek.
 5 ikun li trid int
 kif fis-sema hekkda fl-art.
 Robżna ta' kull jum agħtina l-lum.
 aħfrilna dnuvietna
 bħalma naħfru lil min hu ħati għalina
 10 u la ddaħħalniex fit-tiġrib
 iżda eħlisna mid-deni. Amen.

1 BN Madrid diverges from 1928 Hispanic Soc. facsimile: line 8
 dunabene; line 11 mi a. See notes on transcription 7.4.1.

MUTATIONS VOCALIQUES DANS LES DIALECTES HISPANO-ARABES

PAR

HELIANE JILL BERGE

En présentant notre étude sur les changements vocaliques dans les dialectes hispano-arabes, nous nous proposons de montrer que l'examen des systèmes vocaliques et des alterations des voyelles sont d'un secours précieux pour distinguer deux dialectes voisins.

Nous nous proposons aussi de montrer que l'*imāla* et le *tafkhīm* de l'*alif*, c'est-à-dire de la voyelle d'aperture maxima, ne sont point des phénomènes isolés sinon des mutations complémentaires qui suscitent, à leur tour, d'autres perturbations à l'intérieur du système vocalique.

C'est en essayant de décrire les parlers de la communauté musulmane d'Espagne, vers la fin du moyen-âge, après la bataille décisive de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), que nous avons trouvé nécessaire de revoir le comportement de certaines voyelles afin d'étudier le système vocalique comme un tout.

Il est vrai que l'on a beaucoup disserté sur l'*imāla*. Déjà aux aurores de l'érudition arabe, Sibawihī avait remarqué que quelques tribus de la péninsule se distinguaient par leur façon de prononcer la voyelle antérieure d'aperture maxima — dite ouverte, de tribus voisines¹. Ces commentaires précieux sont aujourd'hui les bases de la dialectologie arabe. Non moins importantes seraient les remarques de Ibn Yaʿīsh qui avait observé les variations dans la quantité des voyelles au voisinage d'une consonne emphatique, velaire ou pharyngale². Les sources consultées révèlent, malgré leur rareté et leurs limitations, que des changements vocaliques de nature semblable étaient non seulement extrêmement fréquents mais caractéristiques des parlers hispano-arabes. Le corpus étudié³ se compose d'une part de documents espagnols de l'époque et

¹ SIBAWIHĪ, ed. Derenbourg II, p. 279-284.

² IBN YA'ĪSH, *Zamakhshari*, ed. Leipzig 1882, II, p. 1462.

³ Corpus E. TERES «Sobre el nombre arabe de algunos rios españoles», in *Al-Andalus* 1976; 2; «La voz arabe» al Wādī «reflejada en documentos latinos y romances» in *Al-Andalus* 1977; 1. J. SAMSO «Sobre la voz «Kanīsa» en el huz dialectal Hispano-Arabe» in *Al-Andalus*

Arabica, Tome XXVIII, Fascicule 2-3

d'autre part, de textes en caractères arabes, dont l'orthographe laisse transparaître la dernière phase d'une mutation vocalique.

Le système vocalique qui s'y dégage montre bien que les dialectes en question, maintiennent encore au XIII^e siècle, en commun avec d'autres dialectes arabes, un système formé d'une double série de trois phonèmes qui s'opposent quant à la quantité.

/i/	/u/	/i/	/ū/
/ɨ/		/ɨ/	

Néanmoins le fait que la quantité se trouve remplacée par l'accent tonique et ceci, dans un délai relativement bref, a sûrement dû être l'un des facteurs les plus actifs dans l'apparition de nouvelles variantes, pour lesquelles les études sur l'étymologie des noms de lieu s'avèrent particulièrement utiles. En effet, quelques termes de la nomenclature géographique tels: Wādī (vallée, Oued), Kanīsa, (lieu de prière), se retrouvent sous des formes variées à travers l'Espagne. D'autre part on peut les dater grâce aux documents qui les contiennent et les situer dans une région précise. Ainsi ils donnent la possibilité de suivre les phases d'une mutation, et à un moment donné de l'histoire, ils apportent, parfois, les seuls faits que l'on puisse obtenir sur les variantes locales d'un même phonème, d'une même voyelle: ainsi peut-on établir des isoglosses entre deux patois similaires. Je suis profondément redevable à E. Terès et à J. Samsó dont les travaux patients en cette matière, m'ont permis de cerner de près les altérations vocaliques des dialectes d'Al-Andalus.

A titre d'exemple, prenons les noms de deux vallées que l'on appelle aujourd'hui Guadalajara (Castille) et Guadalquivir (Andalousie). Au XIII^e siècle déjà, leurs noms étaient curieusement proches et l'on verra pourquoi, de leurs formes modernes:

Guadalaxara 1207
Guadalfaxara

Guadalquivir 1230

C'est à cette époque qu'ils sont adoptés en espagnol par le biais de documents officiels. Remarquons l'effet de l'*imāla* dans le deuxième mot. Vers 1250, une certaine propriété est portée sur le cadastre de Séville sous le nom de

1978 I, p. 209-222. L. P. HARVEY «The Arabic Dialect of Valencia in 1595», in *Al-Andalus* 1971, p. 81-115. *Vocabulista: Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* Pedro de Alcalá, ed. Langarde 1883. I. DE LAS CAGIGAS, «carta de Grenada» vers 1496, in *Arabica I*, p. 273 et seq.

Machar Aluet Alquivir
Majshar al wéd al kibir

Enfin le même fleuve est appelé:

الروبر الكبير par Ibn 'Asim, écrivain du XV^e siècle,
c.f. الروادى الكبير ar. cl.

forme que l'on retrouve dans le *Vocabulista* de 1505, glossaire bilingue espagnol dialecte arabe de Grenade.

Guadalquivir = Guid Alquibir
Guadalfajara = Guid Alhijara

On observe un phénomène semblable dans la région de Valence.

ب bib pour bah Ar. Cl. «porte»
كين kin pour Kāna Ar. Cl. «était» (1595)

Alors que dans le Sud-Ouest et au Portugal, les noms de rivières conservent jusqu'au XV^e siècle un préfixe plus ancien. Od-

Oelana (Guadiana) Wādī Āna
Oderente région de l'Algarve
Odelouca région de l'Algarve

Il semble, donc, que les altérations vocaliques aient lieu:

1a) lorsque la voyelle ouverte /a/ /ā/ dont la réalisation phonétique serait le plus souvent [a] / [ā] se voit prononcée dans un premier temps [ɔ] / [ī] puis [e] / [ē], enfin [i] dans le voisinage d'un /t/ /t/ présent ou sous-jacent.

Kabīr - quibir «grand»

b) lorsque la voyelle /a/ /ā/ dont la réalisation phonétique première était [a] ou encore [ā], vient à ressembler à [ɛ] ou bien [ē] puis à [e] [ē], enfin à [i] à moins que l'opération se trouve empêchée par la présence d'une consonne vélaire, emphatique ou pharyngale voisine.

Wādī → Al-uet → Wid

Hajārat → fajara (Castille) «pierres»

mais → hijāra (Valence) ✓

qui souligne la palatalisation de cette voyelle. A partir du moment où la voyelle /a/ /ā/ vient à se confondre avec une réalisation [i] qui est aussi une des variantes de /ī/ /ī/, il est certain que deux lois, traditionnellement appelées *imāla*, provoquent à l'intérieur du système vocalique des bouleversements non négligeables suivis d'effets secondaires. L'*imāla* ne peut plus être considérée comme un phénomène isolé.

Cette voyelle d'aperture maxima subit, néanmoins, un autre changement, décrit depuis fort longtemps par Ibn Ya'īsh comme le *tafkhīm* de l'*alif*:

/ā/ [ā] prend le timbre de [ɔ] 'o'

Muḥammad → Mahoma XVIe s.

Marrākush → Marrócos → Marruccos Maroc

XIIIe s. XVIe s. Esp. Mod.

dans le *Vocabulista*:

qāla/ cōltiluhum «je leur ai dit»

cōtilaq «je t'ai dit»

c. f. tiqūl-li/ ticōli «tu me dis»

où l'on verrait apparaître à la suite d'une neutralisation

ā → 'o'

ū → 'o'

une nouvelle forme verbale *cōl* non différenciée quant à l'aspect. La deuxième alternance sera décrite par la suite.

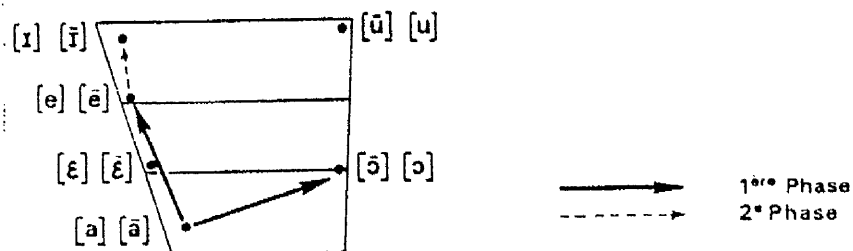
Voici deux noms de lieu qui permettent d'analyser le *tafkhīm* de l'*alif*,

sūq al dawwāb/ Zodoover (Tolède) «marché à bestiaux»

al mudāwwar/ Almodovar (Castille) «espace circulaire»

de même que la neutralisation en question.

Le *tafkhīm* de /ā/ se manifeste dans le contexte favorable d'un r, voisin ou d'une consonne de l'arrière bouche. Ce qui m'amène à représenter les changements étudiés de la façon suivante.



Environnement peu favorable à l'*imāla* dans les dialectes hispano-arabes. Voisinage d'une consonne:

+ emphatique

+ uvulaire

+ pharyngale

C = + A

C = Consonne

parfois
(probablement emphatiques)

A = Arrière bouche

Ces lois peuvent être schématisées:

I a) Proximité d'un /ii/ ou /i/.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \bar{a} \\ a \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \bar{e} \\ e \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow (I) \quad \bar{a} \begin{array}{c} / \bar{i} C \bar{a} \\ a \quad a \\ C \bar{a} C i \\ a \quad i \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} C = \pm A \\ C = - A \end{array}$$

\bar{a} = réalisation phonétique
() = éventuellement
= environnement

\bar{v} = soit v ou v

b) *Imāla* spontanée.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \bar{a} \\ a \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \bar{e} \\ e \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow (II) \quad \bar{a} \begin{array}{c} / C \bar{a} e \\ a \quad a \\ C \bar{a} \\ a \end{array} \quad C = - A$$

II *Tafkhīm* du *ā*.

$$[a] \rightarrow [ɔ] \quad \bar{a} \begin{array}{c} / C a \\ \bar{a} C \end{array} \quad C = + A$$

Ce qui vient à dire que cette loi est l'inverse de I b), d'autant plus que la quantité fait place à l'accent du mot.

Deux autres mutations vocaliques méritent d'être vues, mention a été faite de l'une d'elles.

$\bar{u}/ \rightarrow 'o'$ (o dans les textes)

D. arabe		Vocabulista	D. romans		
برنس	burnus	bornos	albornos	esp.	«burnous»
برنس	burnus		albernus	catalan	
			albornus	catalan	
برقوق	barquq	borcoqua	aluarcoque	esp.	«abricos»
			albercoch	catalan	
بللوتا	balluta	bellota	bellota	esp.	«gland»
سوق	soq	coq	zoco	esp.	«marché»
نار	na'ara	na'ara	na'ora	esp.	«noria»
		na'ora	noria	esp. mod.	

à la suite de ces exemples, on voit que le changement s'effectue dans un contexte connu:

$$III [\bar{u}] \rightarrow [ɔ] \quad \bar{u} \begin{array}{c} / C \bar{u} \\ \bar{u} C \end{array} \quad C = + A$$

L'application de cette loi est, parfois, suivie d'une autre qui souligne l'affaiblissement de l'ā tension musculaire que suppose la nouvelle variante:

[u] → [ɔ] en syllabe atone			
al munāda XIIIe s.	almoneda	XVIe s.	«enchere»
al qutun	algodón		«coton»

cette énonciation vient répondre à un besoin d'harmonie vocalique dont on a vu le reflet décrit par la loi I a).

Il reste encore une autre alternance qui aurait sa place dans cette série, bien qu'elle semble avoir été moins féconde en exemples que les cas précédents.

[i] → [e]

comme dans les noms de lieu :

al 'idwa	Aledua	(Valence)	«la rive»
al maḍīq	Almadeque	(Castille)	«l'espace étroit»

suivie d'une seconde phase :

[e] → [a]

al 'hisān	alazān esp. «alezan, type de cheval»
al qīṭrān	alcatrān (Grenade XVIe s.) «poix»
	alquitrān esp. mod.!

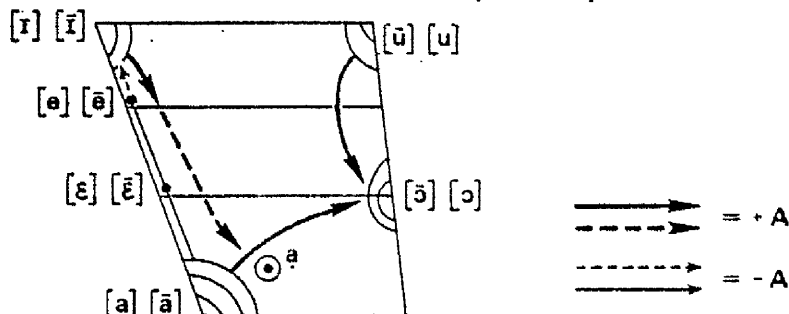
IV [i] → [e] → ([a])

I / Cī
ī C

C = + A

a = timbre centralisé

Ces mouvements vocaliques pourraient être représentés de la manière suivante. Le trapèze est une vue schématique de l'espace buccal.



Il faudrait encore expliquer pourquoi dans certains mots l'alternance s'est produite alors que le contexte ne s'y prêtait guère, et pourquoi ailleurs la mutation ne s'est pas faite dans un voisinage favorable. Les lois phonétiques ne sont que des probabilités. Le but est de réduire, si possible, le nombre d'exceptions qu'on trouve dans toutes les langues. Il y a un petit nombre de cas où l'apparition de toute nouvelle variante est déterminée par le sens, au niveau sémantique de la langue, quand il s'agit d'éviter la confusion que suivrait la neutralisation d'un doublet :
cemin «gros» cimén «gras»

Il est curieux de constater que l'espagnol moderne a imposé d'une façon assez courante, une forme archaïque d'un mot où l'on ne voit que les premiers effets d'une évolution vocalique, alors que les termes correspondants dans les dialectes de Valence et de Grenade laissent apercevoir les phases suivantes. Il ne reste plus trace de ces mots dans la langue d'aujourd'hui :

espagnol	d. Valence ou Grenade
Guadalquivir	Guid al quibir
Aibarcoque	Borcoqua
Alquitrán	Alcatrán
Fulano Fulán XIIIe s.	Fulin «un tel, un individu»

Le linguiste éprouve l'étrange impression de remonter dans le temps.

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